Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 140

Izak Cornelius

The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba‘al

Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE)



University Press Fribourg Switzerland
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen

The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE)

Cornelius, Izak

Abstract: Although the Canaanite deities Reshef and Ba'al are both represented as so-called "smiting gods", their iconography is much more complicated and varied. This publication presents a catalogue of representations of Reshef and Ba'al in the Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE). It deals with different motifs: "the menacing god", "the standing god", "deities on animals" and "the monster slayer". Photographs of the originals are included, a full catalogue description is given and the iconographic attributes are compared and discussed. It is concluded that the iconography of the deities under discussion can be distinguished according to their different attributes and functions. It is established that Reshef carries a shield and is the protector of individuals' life, while Ba'al holds a plant and, as the bearer of life, has royal and cosmic connections.

Izak Cornelius **Reshef and Baʿal**

ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS

Published by Othmar Keel and Christoph Uehlinger
on behalf of the Biblical Institute
of the University of Fribourg Switzerland,
the Egyptological Seminar of the University of Basel,
the Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Archaeology and Languages
of the University of Berne,
and the Swiss Society
for Ancient Near Eastern Studies

The author:

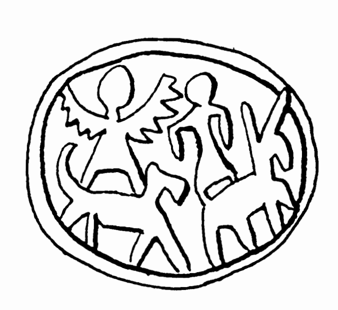
Izak Cornelius was born in Stellenbosch (South Africa) on 29.08.1958. He studied Theology and Ancient Near Eastern Cultures at the University of Stellenbosch (1976–1985), completing a D Litt in Ancient Near Eastern Studies (1985). Since 1986 he has lectured in Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Stellenbosch. He also studied and did research at the Universities of Tübingen (1982–1983) and Fribourg (1989–1990).

Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 140

Izak Cornelius

The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Baʿal

Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE)



University Press Fribourg Switzerland
Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen

Die Deutsche Bibliothek – CIP-Einheitsaufnahme

Cornelius, Izak:
The iconography of the Canaanite gods Reshef and Ba'al: Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE) / Izak Cornelius. – Fribourg, Switzerland: Univ. Press; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1994
(Orbis biblicus et orientalis; 140)
ISBN 3-525-53775-1 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)
ISBN 3-7278-0983-3 (Univ. Press)
NE: GT

Publication subsidized by the Fribourg University Council, Fribourg Switzerland

Die Druckvorlagen wurden vom Verfasser als reprofertige Dokumente zur Verfügung gestellt

ISBN 3-7278-0983-3 (University Press)
ISBN 3-525-53775-1 (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht)

dbḥ bʿl k tdd bʿlt bhtm b ġb ršp ṣbỉ

...the sacrifice of Baʿal when the mistress of the house chases into the pit of Reshef of the army...
(KTU 1.91 14-15)

In memory of

Frank Charles Fensham
(13/10/1925 – 26/7/1989)

teacher, colleague and friend

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research for this monograph was completed during a research period at the Biblical Institute of the University of Fribourg. The manuscript was completed at the end of 1990, although some subsequent literature is included in this monograph.[1] The Swiss confederacy, the Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa and the University of Stellenbosch are thanked for their financial support which made my stay possible.

The following people should also receive a word of thanks for their contribution towards this publication:

Foremost a "merci vielmal" to O Keel (Fribourg) for suggesting the subject to me and his willingness to accept it for publication in *OBO*. He planned to write a monograph on this subject and gave me the photographs and research data that he had already started to collect. During my stay in Fribourg, I also had the help of C Uehlinger, H Keel-Leu and A Jaekle. S Ris-Eberle is thanked for assisting me with the translation the Egyptian texts. Hildi Keel-Leu is thanked for having done some of the line-drawings.

The following assistants of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, University of Stellenbosch, South Africa are also thanked for their contributions in preparing the manuscript: H Bertram, A Coetzee, T Harteveld, C James, E Jung, M Klingbeil, and S Watson. I especially want to thank Robert Kotze and Henriëtta Huisman.

People from different institutions and museums answered my questions and supplied me with information and photographs. To all of them I am truly grateful. In this regard special thanks are due to E Hornung and E Staehelin (Basel), G T Martin and R Janssen (UC

---

1 Omitted are Keel O/Uehlinger C, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole* (Quaestiones Disputae 134). Wien 1992 and Keel O, *Das Recht der Bilder gesehen zu werden* (OBO 122). Fribourg/Göttingen 1992 which contain material relevant to the theme.

London), R Moorey and H Whitehouse (Oxford), A R Schulman (NY), J Śliwa (Cracow), May Trad (Cairo) and D Wildung (Berlin).

The following persons also deserve thanks: A Abou-Assaf (Damascus), G Andreu (Paris), J Aruz (New York), S Aufrère (Montpellier), L Badre (Beirut), P Beck and D Ussishkin (Tel Aviv), M Bierbrier, M Cassirer, D Collon and M Bierbrier (London), E Blumenthal (Leipzig), B Brandl and S Durocher (Jerusalem), H de Meulenaere (Gent), M Gabolde (Lyon), E Gubel and L Limme (Brussels), H Hammade (Aleppo), I Schumacher (Berlin), B Jaeger (Basel), J A Larson (Chicago), J Leclant (Paris), J Meyer (Hazor), Munro (Hannover), O Rimon (Haifa), M Saleh (Cairo), H Satzinger and C Vancsa (Vienna), M Valloggia (Geneva), J Vercoutter (Lille).

Credit is due to the following people and institutions for supplying material and granting permission to publish the photographs in the plates (the numbers refer to the catalogue numbers):

Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig (RR3), Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen Berlin (BM40, BM48, BM53-54, BM70-73, BM80-81, BR9-10, RM6, RM32-33, RR19(a), RR35), Ägyptologisches Seminar der Universität Basel "Aufnahme Dr. Arthur Brack, Riehen/Basel" (BM39), Aleppo Museum (BM4, BM64, BM11-13, BR12), Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen (RR11), Archaeological Museum Cracow (BM51, BM61), Archives-IFAO (RR14, RR16, RR25), Ashmolean Museum Oxford "by courtesy of the Visitors of the Ashmolean Museum" (BM16, BM56, BM68, BR13, RM11), Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Médailles Paris (BM84), Biblisches Institut Freiburg Schweiz (BM23a, BM34-35, BM60, BM67, BM75, RM19, RM25, RM27, RM30-RM31, RM38-39), British Museum London "by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum" (BM3, BM23, BM36, BM43, RR17, RR26, RR30-31), Bundesdenkmalamt Vienna (BM22), M Cassirer London (BM78), Damascus Museum (BM10, BM14, BM85, BP1), Egyptian Museum Cairo (BM63, BR3, BR5, BR14-15, RM14, RR4-5, RR13, RR21, RR32), Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (RR23), Hazor Museum (BS1(a)-(b)), Institute of Archaeology London (BM21, BM59, BM76, RM29, RM34), Israel Antiquities Authority Jerusalem (BM7, BM20, BM32,

BM33, BM42, BM49, BM57, BM58, BM66, BM69, BM77, BR18, RB1, RM4, RM5, RM7, RM10, RM16, RM22, RM23, Jordan Archaeological Museum Amman (BM8), Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium Brussels (BM82), Koninklijk Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis Brussels (RR9), Metropolitan Museum of Art New York (BM74, Pl D), Munro (BM79), Musée Calvet Avignon (RR24), Musée National du Louvre Paris (BR1, BR11, RM2-3, RR29, Pl C), Museo Egizio di Torino (RR19, RR28), Museum Ha'aretz, Tel Aviv (BM31, RM24), National Archaeological Museum, Department of Egyptian and Anatolian Antiquities Athens (RM20), Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek Copenhagen (BR16, BR19), Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (BR4, RB2, RR7, RR37), Pacific School of Religion Museum Berkeley (RM28), Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim (RR2), Petrie Museum University College London "Courtesy of Petrie Museum, University College" (BM37, BM44-45, BM55, RM11, RR8, RR10, RR36), Reuben and Edith Hecht Museum, University of Haifa (BB1, RB3), Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University (RM17), Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst München (BM50), University Museum University of Pennsylvania Philadelphia "reproduced by permission of the University Museum, University of Pennsylvania" (RR33), J Vercoutter (RR38), Vienna (pl A), Vorderasiatisches Museum Berlin (BM48, RM33).

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄS	Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München
BM	British Museum, London
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
CAA	Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
CG	Catalogue Générale
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
JE	Journal d'Entrée
KAI	Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften
KTU	Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit
LdÄ	Lexikon der Ägyptologie
MHQ	Ha'aretz Museum, Tel Aviv
MMA	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
OIC	The Oriental Institute. The University of Chicago
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie
RS	Ras Shamra
SK	Sonderkatalog, Biblisches Institut, Fribourg
SM	Staatliche Museen, Berlin
TRE	Theologische Realenzyklopädie
UC	University College, London (Petrie Museum)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

1.1.1 Religious exchange in the Late Bronze and Iron age I periods

In the Bible it is said that the ancient people of Israel followed "foreign gods" such as Baᶜal and Astarte (eg Judges 2:11-13). These were the ancient gods of the Canaanites. Whatever the real origin of the people of Israel might have been, early Israelite (c 1200-1000 BC) religion did not develop independently from Canaanite culture (Ezek 16:3!) and religion[1]. It has even been said that Baᶜal "...hat selber an der Wiege der israelitischen Religion gestanden" (Donner 1983 16).

What happened in Israel occurred all over Western Asia and Egypt, especially in the so-called Late Bronze age (c 1550-1150 BC) and Iron age I (c 1150-1000 BC). The Late Bronze age in the ancient Near East was a period known for its international contact and communication (Weippert 1988 317ff). This contact, which had its roots in the Middle Bronze age (Gerstenblith 1983), included not only peaceful commerce or violent exchanges on the battlefield, but also the exchange of ideas (Cornelius 1988 23). Foremost in the latter was the exchange of religious ideas. Deities were exchanged, religious traditions were introduced into the native *belles lettres*[2] and foreign gods spread to far-off

---

1 The general consensus seems to be that Israelite culture and religion developed from a Canaanite matrix (eg Ahlström 1984 10; Coogan 1987 116 and Lemche 1988). It was therefore not so much a case of incoming "Israelites" taking over ideas from Canaan.

2 Suffice to name the copy of part of the *Gilgamesh epic* from Megiddo in Israel and the copies of *Ereshkigal* and *Adapa* found at Amarna in Egypt.

regions[1]. This trend continued in the period following the Bronze age, namely Iron age I.

Religious exchange was especially common between Egypt and Canaan. In the Late Bronze age there were strong bonds between Egypt and the region of Syro-Palestine. Egypt experienced her apogee in the New Kingdom (18th and 19th dynasties [c 1550-1190]) when she "ruled the East" (Steindorff/Seele 1957). Egyptian armies marched through the regions of Syria and Palestine and brought their deities along. Besides, they returned to Egypt with deities they encountered and accepted in the foreign countries where they served[2]. It was not only through the conquests of the warrior pharaohs that many foreign gods were introduced into Egypt. The origin of the worship of these gods in a region such as Egypt may lie in the role played by foreign merchants and sailors (eg those at *prw-nfr,* the harbour of Memphis). Another possible route of exchange may have been through foreign slave labour in Egyptian work colonies. Egyptian officials living abroad may have accepted the gods of the region where they lived. It should also not be forgotten that in the periods before the New Kingdom there was already contact between Egypt and Canaan[3]. During the so-called Hyksos period (1650-1550) there were strong Asiatic influences in the Delta[4].

---

1 See the studies of Fuscaldo (1972, 1976); Helck (1966, 1971 446ff); Kitchen (1969 89ff); Stadelmann (1967), as well as Weippert (1988 293-294). Cf already Eduard Meyer (1877 724ff).

2 On the other hand, Egyptian gods that were introduced into the Levant were Hathor, Bes, Horus, Ptah and even Amun and Reᶜ (cf Weippert 1988 314ff; Kitchen 1969 90-91 and on Amun, Uehlinger in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 5ff).

3 Reflected for example by the image of the (Egyptian) falcon-headed figure in the Palestinian glyptic of the Middle Bronze age (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 244ff).

4 Cf Giveon (1980 144). Helck argues for six ways in which foreign gods could have entered Egypt, but he is critical of the Hyksos hypothesis (1966 14). Sadek (1987 152-153) has four ways: (i) via the Hyksos, (ii) via Egyptian merchants and officials abroad, (iii) via foreign captives and migrants in Egypt, and (iv) via the pharaohs who worshipped foreign deities.

When the stream of foreign gods into Egypt is surveyed, one finds especially the deities Anat, Astarte, Horon and Qudshu.[1] Two of the most important Canaanite gods that were introduced into Egypt in the New Kingdom were Reshef and Baʿal. The iconography of these gods forms the subject of this study.

1.1.2 Previous studies

Both Reshef and Baʿal have featured in previous studies. The texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit dealing with Baʿal are studied philologically in great detail by Margalit (1980), de Moor (1971) and van Zijl (1972); and summarized in various studies[2]. The Egyptian items are summarized by Stadelmann (1967 32ff) and Helck (1971 450ff). Although the inscriptions dealing with Reshef are not so voluminous when compared to that of Baʿal, and limited to much shorter references in the Bible, Ugaritic documents, Aramaic and Phoenician-Punic inscriptions, as well as Egyptian texts, these have also been studied[3].

When one surveys the work done on the iconographic data, it is clear that the iconography of both gods has not received the attention to the extent that it should have. A comprehensive study of the iconographic sources is a desideratum.

Attention will first of all be devoted to items pertaining to Reshef and then to Baʿal. The survey excludes the original publication of such sources as are found in archaeological reports, catalogues and articles. Nor does it pretend to be complete and detailed. Rather, attention is

---

1 See the lists in the studies of Stadelmann (1967) and Helck (1971).

2 Such as that of Cooper (in Rummel 1981 347ff); Gese (1970 119ff); Kapelrud (1952); de Moor (1973 706ff); and most recently Loretz (1990 73ff, 156ff) and Röllig (in Görg/Lang 1991 223).

3 For example by Albright (1926); Barré (1978); van den Branden (1971); Conrad (1971); Cooper (in Rummel 1981 413ff); Couroyer (1978); Day (1979); Fensham (in Bromiley 1988 vol IV 141-142); Fulco (1976); Gese (1970 141ff); Helck (1962 = 1971); Jeremias (1977 46-47); Schretter (1974); Stadelmann (1967 47ff); Xella (1979-1980, 1981 and 1988) and Zenger (1971 131ff).

devoted to items relevant for the Late Bronze and Iron age I periods and excludes philological data.

1.1.2.1 Reshef

In their famous studies Wilkinson (1878 pl LV) and Lanzone (1884 IV 483ff and pls CLXXXXIff) collect and describe depictions of Reshef from Egypt, but these only include the stelae. To these Müller adds seals and some Western Asiatic items (1893 311-312). In 1898 another stela is studied by Spiegelberg. He adds one scarab in his study of 1908.

The next phase includes more interpretative studies, such as the pioneering work done by Cook (1925 112ff with pls XXIV-XXV) and Gressmann (1927 99ff with pls CXLI-CXLIII). They add other items and include the bronzes. Even more comprehensive are the studies of Vincent (1928) and van Wijngaarden (1929) who both add more sources. Van Wijngaarden's study is quite important for combining a study of the texts with the Egyptian sources and for including the Western Asiatic sources[1]. Unfortunately, most of the iconographic items from Western Asia which he studies, have very little to do with Reshef. The article of Vincent includes the glyptic, bronzes and other non-Egyptian sources. Galling's article on "Götterbilder" in the *Biblisches Reallexikon* of 1937 includes representations of the reliefs and bronzes pertaining to Reshef (211, 218).

After this phase of interpretation, new sources have been published by Leibovitch in a series of articles in *ASAE* which are impressive for presenting new items, but also for interpreting them. In 1939 he publishes an amulet, reliefs and stelae, bronzes and a statuette and studies them. This is followed by the publication of another stela in an article in 1941 which also includes the study of a scarab. This is followed by a review (1942b) of the small book by Grdseloff (1942). Grdseloff adds sources pertaining to Reshef. Leibovitch's study is also comparative and includes Asiatic items, like seals. Another study

---

1 The title contains the important words: "...volgens de egyptische en voor-aziatische monumenten" (according to the Egyptian and Near Eastern monuments).

(1942a) publishes the fake Roanne depiction of Qudshu with Reshef, but studies the so-called triad stelae in a comparative manner[1]. Additional sources are published and studied (1943, 1944b and 1948). Together with Leibovitch, the name of Simpson should be mentioned as one of the pioneers in the study of Reshef. In 1952 he studies the *MMA* statuette and the Chicago Reshef relief. This is followed by an article in 1953 which studies the vocalization of the name Reshef and the gazelle symbol. In 1960 he adds other sources and presents a survey[2] which is still one of the the standard works in the study of Reshef. Another American publication is Pritchard's *The ancient Near East in pictures* (1954 = 1969b) which contains some of the stelae (nos 473-474, 476) connected with Reshef. The study of Roeder on Egyptian bronzes (1956 36ff) seems a bit too optimistic in connecting some bronzes with Reshef.

Following these phases of collection and study, two Egyptologists summarize the sources with regard to Asiatic gods in Egypt, but also include Asiatic items. Helck (1962 485ff = 1971 450ff) publishes a list of representations. The study of Stadelmann (1967 47ff) collects most of the sources (known then) and studies them in detail. However, he overemphasizes the importance of the bronzes and neglects the glyptic sources. The importance of the glyptic as independent sources for Reshef in Western Asia is emphasized by Matthiae in a study of three cylinders (1963). He warns against using only the Egyptian sources, because the iconography of Reshef in Asia might have been different and is older than that of the Egyptian stelae.

The presentation of the visual sources in Haussig's *Wörterbuch der Mythologie I* (Pope/Röllig in Haussig 1965 306) is very disappointing. It is unfounded to state that representations of Reshef are only known from Egypt[3]. Thompson (1970) publishes a detailed study on the god Mekal of Beisan in which he gives an analysis of the Mekal-stela and

---

1 See also his study of 1961.

2 See also the summary in Helck (*LdÄ* V 244-246).

3 The same view is found in Fulco (see below) and Ringgren (in Bleeker/Widengren 1969 204) and recently still followed by Shuval (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 94).

the so-called "lion and dog panel". He also discusses some comparative items pertaining to Reshef and Baʿal and makes a few brief remarks on some of the Egyptian stelae depicting Reshef (148ff).

The only really important contribution by a Biblical scholar following the pioneering article of Vincent and the few representations in Gese's excellent history of the religion of Syria (1970 143-145 figs 11-12), is in the now already famous book of Keel on the visual symbolism of the Biblical world (1972 199-201 with figs 300-302 = 1980b = English 1978b). In his publication of the Keisan glyptic (1980a 267-269; see now also in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 195ff, 302ff), he goes further and undertakes the first comparative study of the glyptic sources. Keel is the first to identify the figure on the horned animal with Reshef (cf *2.1.2.3*).

In two important articles of 1972 and 1976, Fuscaldo studies the cult of foreign deities in Egypt, with regard to both the private cult at Deir el-Medina and the official cult. The second article (which also includes a discussion on Baʿal) is more devoted to the textual sources.

The glyptic sources also receive attention in an article of Giveon (1973). This Egyptologist who is known for his attempts to correlate the Egyptian sources with the culture of Canaan (1978), promised a monograph on Reshef. Unfortunately, this never materialised, although his research is summarized in an important article (1980b and cf also 1985b).

In her important study on Canaanite bronze figurines Negbi (1976 30-31) discusses figurines depicting male warriors in a "smiting pose" (using the term coined by Collon 1972). She refers to the Reshef stelae, but does not propose any identification of the bronzes (30n18).

The study of the glyptic was not aided by the publication of the Matouk scarabs (now in Fribourg - cf Uehlinger in Keel/Uehlinger 1990 58ff) in 1977. Many of the items connected with Reshef have now been proven to be incorrect. For example, the winged figures which are identified as representations of Reshef, are rather depictions of Baʿal, as shown below (*2.2.2*).

The most important studies following the pioneering work of Leibovitch, are those of Schulman. In a series of very important articles

(1977, 1979, 1981, 1982, 1984a-b and 1985) he presents the fullest catalogue of the Egyptian Reshef sources. He studies the iconographic attributes and typology as well as the relation between the texts and the images. Unfortunately, these studies are mostly limited to the Egyptian items and neglect the Egyptian glyptic record and the Asiatic sources as a whole. Nevertheless, with these, the study of Reshef reaches its climax, in any case as far as the Egyptian stelae are concerned. Schulman establishes that Reshef is never depicted with wings (1979).

Between the works written by Keel, Giveon and Schulman, the first monograph on Reshef was published by Fulco (1976; summary in Eliade 1987 vol 12 342-343). Although this study collects the iconographic items as well as the textual sources and includes non-Egyptian sources (as never done before), the aims set out in the introduction seem too ambitious. The study omits very important items. The sources are not fully described, nor are they analised and synthesized properly. Iconographic items are only cited and not presented in a proper catalogue, as for example in Schulman (1979). It is impossible to really study the iconographic items in only 21 pages, although these are in small print. This data is studied under "Egyptian material", but includes some Asiatic sources, although these are incomplete. Totally unfounded is the view: "...it is only in Egypt that we find iconographic material" (Fulco 1976 2). The glyptic sources are neglected and the bronzes (22) are ignored as being unimportant without really being studied. The study contains no typological classification of the sources and only compiles the sources with very little and sometimes even no identification/interpretation of the figures represented. For all these reasons, the study is severely criticised by Spalinger (1978) and Schulman (1979)[1] and also by Lipiński (1979), Giveon (1980) and Xella (1981).

The article "Götterbilder" of Welten in the second edition of Galling's *Biblisches Reallexikon* of 1977 (106-107) contains a short, but excellent presentation of the sources, even including the seals. In 1980, Seeden's monograph on the standing bronze figurines appears,

1 He republished (1981) the two items first published by Fulco.

in which some important observations on Reshef are made (133ff). One can differ on the interpretation of the individual details and disagree with her reluctance to identify any of the bronzes with a specific god.

In his study on Egyptian popular religion, Sadek (1988 154ff) studies the private stelae from Deir el-Medina. Dąbrowski, in an unpublished Master's thesis written in Polish (1988), studies scarabs depicting Asiatic gods on animals. In an article (1991) he agrees with Keel in identifying the figure on the horned animal/gazelle with Reshef, although he proposes that, where the god appears next to Seth (really Baᶜal or Baᶜal-Seth!) on a lion, both gods may be Seth (which will be shown to be incorrect). The final word on Reshef is left to the Biblical scholars, namely Weippert (1988 310ff) and the parts by Keel in the collection of studies on the IAI glyptic (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990, especially 394, 412-413). Both present the sources from a Palestinian/ Israelite perspective. Before these studies, a colourful catalogue on the collection of miniature art in the Biblical institute of Fribourg was published (Keel/Uehlinger 1990), in which some figures are identified as depicting Reshef (eg figs 82b, 94a-c).

1.1.2.2 Baᶜal

Although the god Baᶜal seems to have been much more important than Reshef in ancient Canaan[1], very few comprehensive studies on the iconography have appeared and one misses a monograph such as that of Fulco and detailed analyses such as those of Leibovitch and Schulman.

Kapelrud's outdated study (1952) contains some remarks on the stelae, usually following the interpretations of the excavator Schaeffer. Stadelmann (1967 27ff) studies the sources in a section on Baᶜal, but excludes the glyptic sources. Vanel (1965) undertakes a monographic study on the Asiatic weather god, concentrating on the cylinder seals. The reason for the lack of a comprehensive monograph on the iconography of Baᶜal dealing with all the sources may lie in the preoccupation of scholars with the texts from Ras Shamra-Ugarit. This can

1 According to de Moor (1990 104) Baᶜal was the most important deity in Late Bronze age Palestine/Canaan.

still be seen in the most recent book on the Canaanite gods by Loretz (1990).

In his entry under Seth, Lanzone (1886 V/2) publishes the 400-year stela which depicts not Seth, but Baʿal (1144 pl CCCLXXXI). Since then the items have multiplied, as happened with Reshef.

The next phase includes more interpretative studies (as in the case of Reshef), such as those of Cook on Baʿal-Seth (1925 109ff with pl XXV:1, 3) and Gressmann (1927 nos 272, 305, 344), which also add sources. Since 1929, the sources from Ugarit (Ras Shamra) have been added as can be seen in Galling (1937 211, 215). Most of these sources are published and studied in detail by Schaeffer in the journal *Syria* and the volumes of *Ugaritica*. Leibovitch makes his typical thorough contribution in two articles (1944a and 1953). The last one is devoted to the winged Baʿal-Seth.

Pritchard's *Pictures* (1954 = 1969b) includes some of the stelae (nos 485, 490). He is also cautious to identify these with Baʿal. This can not be said of Parrot (1957 38ff) in his chapter on the "Baals and Astartes". Haussig's encyclopaedia only devotes attention to the so-called Baʿal stela from Ugarit (Pope in Haussig 1965 264 pl VIII:12).

Just as excellent as in the case of Reshef, are the studies on Baʿal by the Egyptologists Helck (1962 447ff = 1971 484ff) and Stadelmann 1967 (27ff; summarized in Helck *LdÄ* I 1975 590ff). Unfortunately, Stadelmann excludes the glyptic record. This was included in the study of Vanel (1965). However, its value is limited because it concentrates on the Asiatic cylinder seals depicting weather gods, neglecting the many scarabs depicting Baʿal-Seth. In the same year Hillmann writes a dissertation on the Canaanite weather god and YHWH in which he studies two of the stelae and one cylinder from Ugarit.

In the already mentioned study, Thompson (1970) studies some Egyptian stelae and the Beisan seal which he connects with Seth (70ff). In contrast, in the present study the figure on the stelae is identified with Baʿal and the figure on the cylinder seal from Beisan with Reshef. Gese (1970 129ff) discusses the Ugaritic stelae (figs 6-7). Reference has been made to Negbi. She cites the Baʿal stela from Ugarit (1976

31), but does not propose any identification as far as the bronze figurines are concerned.

Also important is the article of Welten in Galling (1977 102ff). In his excellent study on the Egyptian god Seth, H te Velde (1977) studies the stelae (pls VIII:1, X-XII:1) which represent Baʿal-Seth, but leaves out the glyptic. In his summary on Reshef (1979), Schulman also makes some important remarks on Baʿal-Seth and distinguishes his iconography from that of Reshef. The volume in the series *Iconography of Religions* devoted to Ugaritic religion (Caquot/Sznycer 1980) is disappointing in that it only represents the stelae and the bronzes. The latter are too easily connected with Baʿal and the study excludes the many important seals. Mention has been made of Seeden's book. Keel's study of the Keisan seals identifies the winged god on the lion with Baʿal-Seth (1980a 268-269 = Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 201ff).

The final word is once again uttered by the Biblical scholars in the works of Weippert (1988 300ff, 310ff) and Keel (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 304ff, 364-365, 394 and 411-413) from a Palestinian/Israelite perspective. The works of Dąbrowski (1991, 1992) and Shuval (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 [especially 91ff]) also deserve mention. Shuval's conclusions can, however, not be accepted, as is already shown by Keel in the same publication (294-295). In the catalogue of Keel and Uehlinger some figures are identified as representing Baʿal-Seth (1990 figs 82b, 94a-b, d).

The survey of the amount of attention that the study of the iconographic sources has received, both quantitatively and qualitatively, indicates that a comprehensive in-depth study of the iconography of the gods Baʿal and Reshef is a *desideratum*. This should not only include the Egyptian items, but also the Western Asiatic sources, including those from Palestine[1].

---

1 It simply is not true that Palestine is poor in religious depictions (contra Hrouda in *RlA* III 491a), as can be seen from the large amount of items from Palestine/Israel in this catalogue! Collection and analysis of these sources are, however, another *desideratum*. Some pioneering work in this regard has been done by Cook (1925), most recently by Weippert (1988) and especially by Keel and his collaborators (Keel/Schroer 1985, Keel 1986b, Keel/Keel-Leu/

All the media should be included - the reliefs, the bronze figurines and the important but much-neglected seals. However important the inscribed Egyptian stelae may be in identifying the god represented (especially true of Reshef), art in miniature (especially the stamp seals) should not be excluded. These sources are very important, both quantitatively and qualitatively. Not only do they occur in greater numbers than the reliefs, but also over a longer period and a larger region. These are even more important because they represent more *types* than the stereotyped reliefs and stelae.

Such a study should not only include a collection of the sources or an analysis thereof, but should also make a serious attempt in identifying the figures (gods) represented (however hypothetical this may be). In the present study, a serious attempt is made to give a typological classification of the figures depicted first (which already implies a certain amount of identification) and then to identify the deities represented there. It is of the utmost importance to describe and analyze the typology in full. When all the sources have been surveyed in this way, the uncertainty in differentiating between Baʿal and Reshef should be cleared, especially with regard to the uninscribed seals. This could also help in identifying the enigmatic figures on the lion and the horned animals, as well as the serpent slayers. Lastly, it may bring a balance between over-optimism on the one hand and pessimism on the other in identifying the gods represented by the well-known bronze figures from the Levant.

Schroer 1989 and Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990). Keel and his team are currently working on a project to publish all stamp seals from legal excavations in Palestine/Israel (cf Keel 1986b) which will supply basic sources for such studies. Mention should also be made of a research project undertaken by the author on the collecting of iconographic sources for research on the religion of Palestine and Jordan (financially supported by the *Human Sciences Research Council* of South Africa). Two MA studies (Eggler 1992 and Klingbeil 1992) on the study of Iron age I scarabs and Persian period stamp seals from Palestine have been completed at the University of Stellenbosch, with the present author acting as supervisor.

1.2 Goal, scope and definitions

The *goal* of this study is to present and discuss in full the iconographic data pertaining to Reshef and Baᶜal, thereby providing "precise information" as Lipiński (1979 260)[1] wishes and to meet the need for "eine umfassende Behandlung der palästinischen Götterdarstellungen" (Weippert 1988 296n1). The study is therefore both of a quantitative and of a qualitative nature. Not only does it envisage to present in one volume the fullest catalogue of iconographic data on Baᶜal and Reshef in the period concerned (as far as this has been possible), but also to discuss the sources in full detail. This study is undertaken with all due credit to the important work done by Vincent, Leibovitch, Stadelmann, Simpson, Giveon, Fulco, Keel and Schulman on Reshef and Schaeffer, Stadelmann, Gubel, Culican, te Velde and Keel on Baᶜal.

The *sources* that are included are not only limited to reliefs. The study also includes the glyptic sources. These sources are extremely important when studying Canaanite religion as stated above[2], as are the much debated bronzes. Analysis of the inscriptional evidence (such as the texts from Ugarit) is excluded, although reference is made to these texts where relevant. The inscriptions on the iconographic sources that are discussed, have been translated[3]. These inscriptions have, however, not been analyzed and discussed in full, as they require a study in itself. Schulman (1985) has done some pioneering work on Reshef in this regard. Only after the iconographic sources as well as the texts have been studied in full, can the two really be compared.[4] In the

1 This is the main limitation of Fulco's study. With regard to the iconograpy of the female deities, this is to a certain extent also true of the important study of Winter (1983 = 1987). He represents the sources without detailed description and analysis (cf also the criticism of Lipiński 1986 96).

2 Also emphasized by Gese (1970 21-22); Welten (in Galling 1977 110) and most strongly by Keel (in Keel/Schroer 1985 25). But note that Gese only mentions the cylinder seals.

3 This was done with the help of S Ris-Eberle (and also H Schlögl).

4 An attempt in this regard is the study of Williams-Forte (1983; cf Lambert 1985).

past the iconographic sources dealing with Baʿal have usually been interpreted by utilizing the Ugaritic texts.[1] This is a fallacy - the iconography should first be subjected to a full analysis, using *iconographic* criteria. For this reason, this study is of a purely *iconographic* character.

The term *Canaanite* is not used in the strictest geographical sense of the word, indicating the region between Gaza and Byblos (Cornelius 1988 14, 24n3). It refers to the original *Heimat* of the gods Reshef and Baʿal from where they spread to regions such as Egypt, Cyprus and the later Phoenician colonies, reaching as far as Spain. It implies the region known as the Levant, which includes modern Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine (Israel/Holy Land)[2]. Sources from outside the strictly defined region of Canaan have been included. They reach as far north as Ugarit[3] and Tell Fekheryeh in northern Syria. Because the sources from Egypt are so voluminous, contain inscriptions and both Baʿal and Reshef play such an important role in the New Kingdom, the Egyptian sources (including those from Sinai and part of the Sudan) could not be excluded.

Baʿal and *Reshef* are both known as divine names from the texts[4]. Although both names occur in the plural, they are not only used as appellatives, but are already used as personal names in early third millennium texts from Ebla. However, in this study of their representations, they are more broadly defined - as representing the "Gottesidee"[5]. This includes different types and, as a result, different functions. The items identified with Baʿal, for example, do not only include items pertaining to the so-called "weather god". Also included

---

1 Cf for example Schaeffer who writes: "The iconography of Baal on the stela and his description in the texts agree in every detail" (1939 64).

2 For a broader definition of "Syria" which includes both the states of Israel and Syria see Gese (1970 8). On the region of Canaan see Stolz in *TRE* XVII (1988 539ff) and Uehlinger (in Keel/Küchler/Uehlinger 1984 239ff).

3 Strictly speaking, Ugarit was outside Canaan (Cornelius 1988 21).

4 The terms in Egyptian, East Semitic and West Semitic are respectively: *bʿr*, (d)IM/*Addu*, *bʿl* (with the other form *hd*) and *ršp*/*ršpw*.

5 See in this regard de Moor (1973 709-710).

are representations of the hybrid Baᶜal-Seth, as far as these can be distinguished from representations of the purely Egyptian Seth. It is believed that the gods Baᶜal and Reshef should be studied together, because they are sometimes depicted in the same pose (called the "smiting god" by Collon [1972]). However, their attributes and functions are totally different. Only by comparative study of the independent iconography of Reshef on the one hand and that of Baᶜal on the other, can the confusion in identifying and differentiating between them be cleared. It will be shown that certain attributes, weapons and animal pedestals are unique. These enable us to distinguish between images representing Baᶜal, and those representing Reshef.

There are three basic aspects involved in the identification of a deity:

(i) is this a *deity*?
(ii) what *type* of deity is depicted?
(iii) what is the *name* of the specific deity?

In the case of Egyptian or Egyptianized stela-reliefs, there is no problem as most of these items contain inscriptions. The name of the deity is usually written near to the face of the deity. Most Egyptian deities have zoomorphical heads which make an identification easy. This is not the case with Canaanite deities which were represented anthropomorphically. Egyptian deities have specific symbols (Derchain-Urtel 1980) and the same is true of the symbols of the Mesopotamian gods, especially on the kudurrus (cf now Seidl 1989). In short, the identification of representations of *Canaanite* deities remains a problem (cf also Wyatt 1983 271, 1984 331).

In establishing whether the figure represented is *a deity*, the context can help - eg if there are cultic objects, offerings and worshippers. It is more difficult on the smaller media such as stamp seals where the iconographic attributes are summarized and there is sometimes only one figure. Countless examples of clay plaques depicting naked women (with the female parts accentuated) were found in the Levant (eg Winter 1987 figs 11ff). Albright (1939) and others too easily identified these figures with Astarte. M Tadmor (1982) has made a strong argument that many of these might have been images of concubines as they are

sometimes shown lying on beds. These were placed in the tomb with the deceased[1]. Many of these figures are humans and not deities. However, recently A Mazar (1985 14) showed that in cases where they stand in a facade (which may represent a temple), we may have to do with deities. However, it may also be argued that in some cases the figure is a temple prostitute and not a deity.[2]

If the context is missing, one can use divine attributes. In his article on "Götterdarstellungen" in the *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, Boehmer (1957-1971) uses three criteria:

(i) the horned cap of the gods,
(ii) the garments and
(iii) the animal pedestal or base.

The horned crown occurs as far back as the Meslim period (c 26th century) and continues up to Achaemenid times (333 BC). Examples of deified kings with horned headdresses (eg Naram-Sin of Akkad = Keel 1980b pl XIX) are exceptional[3]. Clothes date from the Akkadian to the Neo-Babylonian period (25th century - 539 BC). A third criterium is when a deity is depicted on an animal. This last criterium is important in cases where there are no other divine attributes (eg horns). To these criteria a few others can be added, eg when a figure stands on a *pedestal.*

After it has been established that a deity is depicted, it remains to decide what *type of deity* is depicted. The aim is not to name the deity, but to establish the type, eg god of fertility or war. In some cases, due to a lack of identifying attributes, one can do no more than to establish the type and make a generalized description. A bronze figure[4] found

---

1 In Egypt these are called "Beischläferinnen" (Bonnet 1952 93ff).

2 For a goddess or temple prostitute looking out from a temple model see Schroer (1987 fig 24).

3 According to Barnett (1974 441) these are not divine horns but real horns which were worn on the hunt. Note that these horns are different from the typical Mesopotamian divine horns which are folded back (eg Keel 1980b fig 256).

4 For problems in identifying bronze figurines cf below *2.1.3*.

near Ugarit (*2.1.3* with *fig 27a* below) depicts a male god with raised hand. This has been identified as Baᶜal, but also as Reshef. The reason for this confusion lies in the fact that no definite attributes are shown to identify it clearly with Baᶜal or Reshef.[1] In this instance one cannot go further than to describe the figure as "a menacing god".

The next step is to *identify the specific deity* that is depicted, an easy procedure if one has an inscription. But this is rare and limited to Egyptian stelae. An example is the sitting Anat (*RR30*). From here one can move to identical examples without inscriptions such as the Michaelidis relief (cf *2.1.1.3*; *excursus* with *fig 16*).

One can start de facto with the images containing inscriptions and establish whether there are attributes which are typical to a certain deity, eg the shield and gazelle head typical of Reshef. However, one should not base conclusions on comparisons of one attribute alone. The golden rule is to compare more than one attribute in close association with the other attributes and also take the total context into account, especially the relations between the figures. For example - not every figure with the gazelle head is necessarily Reshef. The Egyptian-Canaanite deity Shed is also shown with the gazelle as symbol (Leibovitch 1948 fig 2), but the rest of the attributes are totally different. A figure on a throne with weapons also has a gazelle head on his crown (Leibovitch 1948 pl II). At first glance the figure reminds one of Reshef, but the inscription identifies it as Keserty (Kothar wa-Chasis). Note also that the weapons are not raised as with Reshef.

On the other hand, the inscription should be seen in relation to the iconography. Some depictions have the inscription "Seth", but the iconography of the figure is Canaanite and the figure represents Baᶜal (*2.2.1.2*). A relief from the Persian period depicts a lion-headed deity on a horse-drawn wagon. The lion head reminds one of the Egyptian Sekhmet, but the inscription has Astarte (*excursus* under *2.1.1.3* with *fig 12*). Here we have a syncretism which is typical of the later period in Egypt.

---

1 Cf Schaeffer's description of "Bronze statuette of god Baal (or Reshef)...." (1939 pl XXXV fig 1).

The iconography of the the female deities Anat and Astarte (and to a lesser extent the god El or Ilu) should also be studied in comparison to that of Baʿal and Reshef. It is sometimes difficult to differentiate between representations of these gods.[1] This is, however, excluded from this study, limited to shorter remarks and kept for future study[2]. The Canaanite Horon (Gese 1970 145-146 and Pope/Röllig in Haussig 1965 288-289) is excluded, as he is only depicted in a more purely Egyptian form (Helck 1971 454-455; Stadelmann 1967 81ff), for example on the stela published by Leibovitch (1944b). Albright's view that he is depicted on the Sihan stela (Pritchard 1969b no 177), is unfounded. Kothar wa-Chasis (Gese 1970 147-148), related to the Egyptian Keserty (Stadelmann 1967 123), is depicted in a form very much like the sitting Reshef (Leibovitch 1948). The stela of the sitting Mekal of Beisan has been closely connected to the iconography of Reshef in the past and will receive some attention. The iconography of the Ugaritic gods ʿAṯtar[3], Yam and Mot (Gese 1970 134-139) is excluded, as this is dubious. The two stelae from Ugarit (Pritchard nos 489, 491) cannot be connected with the god Mot (Pope in Haussig 1965 302). The iconography of the chief deity of the Moabites, Kamosh (Gese 1970 140-141 and Röllig in Haussig 1965 292), is unknown. He is not depicted on the well-known Baluʿa stela (Pritchard 1969b no 488).

---

1 For a collection of iconographic items depicting the Canaanite deities Ilu, Anat, Astarte, Qudshu and Asherah, see Cornelius (1992).

2 See the studies of Barnett (1969); Gese (1970 149ff); Helck (1971); Leclant (1960); Mercer (1935); Mesnil du Buisson (1969); Pritchard (1943); Stadelmann (1967 88ff); Winter (1983 = 1987) and the entries in Haussig (1965) on the Canaanite female deities. All these studies, however, are not detailed, comprehensive and motivated enough. A detailed study on the iconography of Ilu has not yet been undertaken, but see Pope (1955 34-35 and in Haussig 1965 283); Schaeffer (1966b and 1971); Wyatt (1983) and the remarks on the older sitting god in Smith (1990 31n44); Welten (1977 101) and now Weippert (1988 300). See also the statue from Ugarit depicting Ilu (Yon/Gachet 1989).

3 Cf Mesnil du Buisson (1967).

The study concentrates on the *period* from the Late Bronze age (c 1550-1150 BC) to the Iron I age (c 1150-1000 BC)[1]. Items from other periods have only been discussed and included as comparative sources.[2] The study is also limited to the cultures of the ancient Near East and no attention has been given to the *Wirkungsgeschichte* (eg C Bonnet 1988; Burkert 1975 and Schretter 1974).

1.3 Methodological presuppositions and research design

The method followed in this study is that of iconographic research, which includes the descriptive, analytical and interpretative phases (Panofsky 1983). It is believed that it is rather difficult to differentiate between these phases as they are closely connected. A further methodological presupposition is that the iconographic sources are independent sources for the study of religion. They are important because many mental ideas, images and concepts do not always or only lend themselves to verbal description and can sometimes only be understood when studied in a visualized form[3]. This is especially true when studying religion[4]. The visual sources should be studied independently and not through texts, which in some cases serve only as *Störfaktor* (Keel) and do not always help in interpreting the iconographic items.

A serious attempt has been made to establish the present location of the original sources. The primary sources have been studied in the form of photographs, as far as these could be obtained. These photographs are reproduced in the plates. Where the original could not be found, or where no reaction from the keepers and owners of the museums or

---

1 No discussion of the problems in connection with the dating of the end of the Bronze age and the start of the Iron age is included, see on this Weippert (1988 264ff, 352ff) and Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 334-336).

2 For a collection, see Cornelius (1992).

3 On the importance of the visual sources and its complementary function with regard to texts, see Drijvers (1978 89-90) and Lambert (1985).

4 Cf Moore (1976) and the journal *Visible Religion* and the series *Iconography of Religions* published by the *Institute of Religious Iconography* at the University of Groningen.

collections has been received, line-drawings are given. The primary sources are spread in countless publications, some of them in monographs and articles from the previous century, which are not always easily accessible for study[1]. The photographs in older publications are not always very clear and may lead to contradictory interpretations.

In his study of 1985, Schulman publishes line-drawings of seventeen of the Reshef items, most of them fairly good representations of the originals, although one can differ on some details. Drawings are also published in Vincent (1928 pls XXIV-XXV [Baᶜal-Seth and Reshef]), Leibovitch (1953 104-105 [Baᶜal-Seth]), Vanel (1965 173ff [weather gods]) and Seeden (1980 pls 136-138 [various deities]). However handy these may be[2], one still needs to check them against the originals. Line-drawings can sometimes be misleading[3]. They are made according to the interpretation of the individual scholar and can create the wrong impression for someone not closely acquainted with a specific item.

Secondary discussion in literature can be misleading, eg the Abydos stela, which Müller dates in the Hellenistic period by using only the publication of Mariette. No attempt has been made to solve the confusion created by older publications such as Wilkinson (1878), but the principle was rather to find the original and work from there.

In chapter 2 a technical catalogue of the iconographic sources is presented, while in chapter 3 the detail of the iconographic attributes[4] is

1 This study is therefore also written for readers without specialised libraries containing Egyptological, archaeological, Assyriological and Palestiniological literature such as biblical scholars and historians of religion.

2 See also the well-known corpus of drawings of ancient Near Eastern representations in Keel (1980b).

3 Cf Keel (1986b 3, 5) and Collon (1986 100). However, a good line-drawing made under the guidance of an expert could be better than a bad photograph (cf Keel 1977b 14n9).

4 On the difference between iconography as the total concept and iconographic attributes as the individual details, see Schulman (1984a 76).

discussed in a comparative manner. Chapter 4 contains the iconographic typology of the gods and final conclusions.

A specific system of citation of references is followed throughout this study. Secondary literature is cited according to a shortened form of the so-called Harvard system, by only citing the author's surname, the date of the publication and the reference. The punctuation is limited to the absolute minimum and sometimes even ignored. All references to illustrations are translated into English (cf the list of technical and bibliographic *Abbreviations*). Fuller bibliographic information is contained in the *Bibliography*. References to paragraphs elsewhere (eg *2.1.2*), figures in the text (eg *fig 12)* and to iconographic items (eg *RR10* or *UC 14400*) are indicated in italics. Foreign and ancient words are in italics (*ršp*). Iconographic items are cited according to the number in the catalogue (eg *RR4*). The numbers of the *plates* follow the numbers of the catalogue. The *Reference lists* contain lists of the catalogue numbers and museum numbers.

Egyptian divine names, the names of Egyptian kings and geographical names follow Baines/Málek (1984). Syrian and Palestinian place names are written as in *The Times Bible Atlas* (Pritchard 1987), or if they are not given there, as in the original publication of the iconographical items. BC is excluded and AD only included where relevant. The chronology of Egyptian pharaohs follows Baines/Málek. For the archaeological periods in Palestine, a specific system is followed.

Table 1: archaeological periods

Early Bronze (*EB*)	
	I 3100-2850
	II 2850-2650
	III 2650-2350
	IV 2350-2200
Middle Bronze (*MB*)	
	I 2200-2000
	IIA 2000-1750
	IIB 1750-1550
Late Bronze (*LB*)	
	I 1550-1400
	IIA 1400-1300
	IIB 1300-1150
Iron (*IA*)	
	IA 1150-1050
	IB 1050-1000
	IIA 1000-900
	IIB 900-800
	IIC 800-586
	III 586-332

CHAPTER 2: SOURCE CATALOGUE

The items represented in this catalogue are ordered according to: medium, type, provenance and date.

(i) *Medium*. The first criterium is the medium, starting with the reliefs (stelae and bas-reliefs) because they are in a large number of cases inscribed, and identify the deity. These are followed by the seals (glyptic) and other art in miniature (Porada 1976). Seals are not only quite voluminous, but also very important for their content as stated in the introduction. Finally, a few examples in the medium of the stone statue and the bronze figurines are discussed.

(ii) *Type*. Secondly, the sources are ordered according to the iconographic type represented (eg the menacing god - 2.1.1.1). Further subsections are also included and described in the introduction to each section. All the different types are discussed together in chapter 4 in comparison with one another and other comparative sources to form the final conclusions.

(iii) *Provenance*. Thirdly, the items are ordered according to provenance, presenting first the Egyptian items and then those from Western Asia, in order from north to south. Items from unknown provenances are dealt with last.

(iv) *Date*. Finally, the sources are ordered according to their date where relevant and where known.

Each of the sections discussing the types include a short *introduction* stating the condition of the sources, the reasons why specific items have been included under this type, why some have been excluded from this catalogue and the subsections used, if relevant. After this, the *catalogue* itself is presented, followed by a *synthesis* pertaining to the section under discussion. It should be noted that the synthesis only summarizes the iconographic attributes, whereas the detail and meaning of the type are discussed in chapters 3 and 4.

The different sections of the *catalogue* are as follows:

(i) *Number, present location and provenance*: All items are numbered according to a unique system and cited according to this system. The numbers correspond to the deity and the medium in which he is represented (eg *RR5* stands for *R*eshef *R*elief and the number).[1] The numbers in the catalogue correspond with the numbers of the *plates*. After this follows the official museum or collection number (ie the present location of the item), or the excavation number. Where these are unknown or the original of an object could not be traced, a new name or number has been given (especially in cases where no reply was received from the museums or collections where a piece is said to be kept). The index contains lists of the corresponding catalogue numbers and official numbers and vice versa. This is followed by the present location of the item, the provenance if known and the stratigraphy if known.

(ii) *Technical description of the object*: Type, quality and characteristics, size and date.[2]

(iii) *Literature*: Original publication of the item and other bibliographic information. Line-drawings are indicated by an asterisk (*).

(iv) *Description*: Iconographic description and analysis. Citations from literature are sometimes only given under the name of the author, as the date and pages of the publication can be found under the category *literature* of the item. The descriptions of the figures are orientated to the figure and not from the view of the observer, ie left hand means the left hand of the figure which may be the right hand from the view of the observer. All items are

---

1 Abbreviations: *BB* = Baᶜal bronzes, *BM* = Baᶜal miniature art, *BP* = Baᶜal pottery, *BR* = Baᶜal reliefs, *BS* = Baᶜal statue; *RB* = Reshef bronzes, *RM* = Reshef miniature art, *RR* = Reshef reliefs.

2 It should, however, be kept in mind that this is not a detailed technical catalogue, but a description of iconographic motifs. For this reason, technical detail (eg on the form of the scarabs) has been kept to the minimum and only included if of direct relevance for dating and interpretation.

described from the original, except cylinder seals which are done from the impressions (and in some cases where the original of stamp seals could not be found).

(v) *Identification*: The item is identified as representing Baʿal or Reshef and the reasons are given. The reasons are summarized in brackets [ ].

(vi) *Inscription*: A transcription and a translation of the inscription are given if applicable. In some cases only the parts which are directly of relevance in identifying the figure depicted, have been translated.

2.1. Reshef

2.1.1 Reliefs

2.1.1.1 The menacing god (RR1-RR27)

Introduction

This type includes items representing a figure with a raised hand, sometimes brandishing a weapon in a menacing way over its head. It also includes items which do not only show it in a striding pose, but also sitting on a throne. Excluded here are depictions showing the god not brandishing his weapons, but holding them peacefully below the waist. These are studied as a seperate type (*RR28*ff). Items depicting the standing figure with raised weapon or hand (*RR1-22*) and the seated figure, brandishing weapons (*RR23-27*) are discussed se–parately.

Before discussing and summarizing the iconographic details, some remarks on the famous Beisan stela (Rockefeller S 982 = Rowe 1930 14-15 pl 33; cf Pritchard 1969b no 487; Welten in Galling 1977 105 fig 30:10 = *fig 1*) of the enigmatic god Mekal (Röllig in Haussig 1965 298-299 and Thompson 1970) should be made. This sitting figure is connected with Reshef in some way or the other in all mayor studies on

Reshef.[1] The figure depicted is a Canaanite god with Asiatic beard and headdress with a long streamer. It definitely has no gazelle horns as Gray (1964 52 fig 8) and now also Weippert (1988 295) argue, but rather Baʿal-like bull horns as already stated by the discoverer. The figure is in a sitting position, not brandishing weapons, but holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) and an *ʿnḫ* (☥). The figure is clearly identified by the Egyptian inscription as *mʿ-kꜣr* (= Mekal) and is no Reshef. The only definite figure of Reshef shown sitting (*RR23-24*), *brandishes* his weapons above his head.[2]

---

1 Eg Conrad (1971 164ff); Fulco (1976 22 and especially 52-53); Schretter (1974 158-159) and Stadelmann (1967 54). No attention will be devoted to the relationship with the inscriptions mentioning *ršp mkl.* Cf Fulco (1976 51-54); Schretter (1974 155ff); Stadelmann (1967 52ff); Thompson (1970 164ff) and now also Lipiński (1987).

2 It is also believed that the much published, but mostly misunderstood basalt panel from Beisan (Rockefeller I. 3861 = Rowe 1930 15-16; Pritchard 1969b no 228; Thompson 1970 78ff), which depicts two lions (Galling 1934 153ff, 1967 125-131) and not a dog and a lion, has very little to do with Reshef. There is no direct relation between Reshef and the lion as is said by Gray (1964 234) and recently by Yadin (1985). Much has been speculated on this item and its relation to Reshef, but in conclusion it should be stated that the exact symbolism of the panel still eludes us. In his important study on Reshef, van Wijngaarden (1929 37) seems to connect the figure on the later 1st millennium Amrit stela (Louvre AO 22247 = Börker-Klähn 1982 242-243 no 293 with literature) with Reshef, but this is rather a representation of the god Shadrapa as is also indicated by the inscription (Gese 1970 198ff fig 22). Another item that can immediately be eliminated from the Reshef material is the one cited in Hall (1986 47 fig 91). In her study on the motif of the "smiting pharaoh" she discusses a wall-painting from the tomb of Tuthmosis III which shows a figure beheading enemies, and connects it with Reshef. This is totally incorrect: the figure does not have horns, but the ears of a cat(!). This figure is the *mds-ḥr* from the 7th hour of the Amduat, as shown by Hornung (1963 I 120, II 128 [no 495] and 1985 173 figs 142-143; cf Watson 1991 32ff with fig 21).

Catalogue

RR1 Strasbourg 1398. Egyptian collection of the University of Strasbourg? El-Simbillawein.

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top in two registers. Remains of red-brown colour, 14 (h) x 10 (w) cm. *Date*: Ramesside c 1300-1100.

Published: Spiegelberg 1908 529-530 fig 2. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 17 (E39); Helck 1971 452 no 17; Leibovitch 1944b 172 fig 21*; Schulman 1979 no 35; Stadelmann 1967 71; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:8*.

Description: Upper register: A striding figure wearing a plain short kilt, facing right, is standing barefooted on a base-line. It is brandishing a hand-weapon (sword?) in the right hand. Spiegelberg has a spear and Fulco a mace. Leibovitch and Vincent make it a mace-axe and mace in their drawings, but the head of the mace is not visible. Schulman (1984b) has "straight-edged sword", but in 1979 "hand-weapon". The figure is also holding a small shield (rectangular with a rounded top) in the left hand. It wears the Egyptian white crown (𓋑) and over the right shoulder hangs an empty quiver. Above is a falcon with sun-disk on its head (𓅊)[1]. On the right is the figure of the limbless god Ptah with a sceptre (𓁰) facing left. Lower register: There is an offering table with jars, incense stand and two standing worshippers - the woman holds her hand out to a drinking straw[2] and is followed by a man[3].

Identification: According to the pose and weapons (quiver and shield) the figure on the left can be identified as Reshef when it is compared with the same figure on the inscribed stelae (*RR2*ff), identifying it as Reshef. [quiver/shield]

---

1 Leibovitch has the following possibilities: Horus, Horon, Harmakhis and Reʿ-Harakhty. Schulman (1979) has Horon and Stadelmann argues for a variation of Horus-Behedety.

2 On this cf Gressmann (1927 no 79 [Berlin 14122]) showing a Syrian mercenary drinking from a tube or straw which seems to have been a foreign custom in Egypt, whereas it was known in Asia (Pritchard 1969b no 158).

3 This is uncommon in Egypt, as the woman usually follows. Stadelmann ascribes this to foreign influence and Spiegelberg calls it the mother of the man (529n4). On the foreign element, see also the previous footnote.

RR2 Hildesheim 1100. Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim. Qantir[1] (earlier Hurbeit or Pharbaithos).

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top, 47 (h) x 27,5 (w) x 9,5 (max t) cm. *Date*: End of the 19th dynasty (c 1200).

Published: Ippel/Roeder 1921 22, 38, 94 fig 32. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 11-12 (E24); Giveon 1980 146, 1985 2; Gray in *IDB* IV 37 fig 9; Gressmann 1927 no 348; Habachi 1954 541; Helck 1971 452 no 21; Kayser 1973 66-67 fig 54; Keel 1980b 199, 201 fig 301*; Leibovitch 1941 490 fig 59*; *PM* IV 26; Roeder 1926 61-62 fig 1; Schulman 1979 no 6, 1984b pl 1cδ*, 1985 fig 8*; Simpson 1960 71n1; Stadelmann 1967 69; Thompson 1970 149; van Wijngaarden 1929 33 fig 22.

Description: The figure is striding to the right, standing barefoot on a base-line. It wears the white crown of Egypt with two streamers dangling down from the lower part behind the right arm. The part before the face is weathered so it is unclear whether there are a beard and gazelle or uraeus symbols on the crown[2]. The god is brandishing a hand-weapon with a long shaft with his upright right hand which passes behind the crown (note that the thumb is standing up). Schulman (1979 no 6, 1985 93, n18) has a mace-axe, but this is unclear. This cannot be a spear (Fulco, Kayser) nor a "short javelin" (Keel 1980b 201)[3]. The god holds a spear and shield in the left hand (hand unclear) with the shaft of the spear on the ground. The top of the oblong shield is slightly curved towards the figure and shown sideways. The figure is clothed in a short, undecorated, knee-length kilt with a belt and wears a broad collar (𓋒) around the neck. Behind the figure is a lute[4]. It is hanging in the air with its base facing down and the shaft facing upwards, while a cord with two tassles hangs down on the left side. There are inscriptions above the figure.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription. Reshef is standing in his typical warlike pose with shield and spear and brandishing a weapon. Quite unique for Reshef is the lute. [inscription]

---

1 Habachi (1954) shows that the so-called Hurbeit stelae come from Qantir.

2 Leibovitch (1939 fig 59) and Schulman (1985 fig 8) add a Syrian type of beard and Schulman adds a uraeus on the crown, but this is unclear on the original.

3 Reshef brandishes a hand-weapon, usually a battle-axe (*RR7*) or mace-axe (*RR3, 11, 14-15, 17-18, 21-22, 24, 27*), but never a spear or javelin. The spear is usually held in front (eg *RR2-3, 7-9, 12-13, 15-19, 25-26*).

4 It is not understandable where Helck finds a "Keule am Gürtel" (perhaps he confuses it with *RR10*?). Gressmann, Stadelmann and Schulman also argue for a weapon whereas Fulco has a "lute-like instrument". Cf detailed discussion under *synthesis*.

Inscription: *ḥtp dj njswt ršpw nṯr ʿ3 (sḏm nwt)* = "An offering which the king gives (to) Reshef, the great god, (the hearer of prayers)"[1].

RR3 Leipzig 3619. Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig. Bought by Steindorff in Giza, perhaps from Qantir (*RR2*) when compared with the so-called Hurbeit stelae[2].

Object: Limestone stela, 30,5 (h) x 23,7 (w) cm with rounded top, outlined, damaged in the centre. *Date*: c 1200 (with *RR2*).

Published: Krauspe 1976 50-51 no 68. *Literature*: Giveon 1985 1.

Description: The figure is striding barefooted to the right. It wears the white crown with a single broad streamer attached to the tip of the crown and dangling down behind the right arm. The part before the face and crown is damaged, so no beard or symbol on the crown is visible. The figure is dressed in an undecorated, knee-length kilt with three cords with tassels between the legs ending in flowers. Above the head it brandishes a mace-axe and holds a rectangular shield with rounded top (viewed fully) with the left hand (this part is damaged), with the shaft of the spear on the ground. Behind (but not on the base-line) is a lute as on the previous item, with its base facing down. To the right stands a worshipper (smaller) with a lotus ( ) in the right hand and the left hand in a gesture of praise ( )[3]. There is an inscription above the figures.

Identification: The inscription identifies the offering and the owner. The pose and weapons are typical of the god Reshef. [spear/shield]

Inscription: *ḥtp dj njswt jr.n... msj ẖ.mn m3ʿ-ḫrw* = "An offering which the king gives, made by PN, borne by PN, the justified".

RR4 Cairo JE 71816. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Zaqaziq.

Object: Fragment of damaged limestone stela, 22,5 (h) x 13,5 (w) cm, crude, rudely and deeply incised. *Date*: 19th or 20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Leibovitch 1939 154 pl XVII. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 18 (E43); Helck 1971 451 no 6; Schulman 1979 no 30, 1984b 860 pl 2b*[4]; Stadelmann 1967 70.

1 Cf the reading of Roeder (1926 61), with corrections by Clère (1950 27n3); Habachi (1954 541) and Giveon (1980 146).

2 As stated in a letter of E Blumenthal (11/01/1990).

3 Brunner-Traut (in *LdÄ* II 1977 575-577:1c); Demisch (1984 114ff) and Keel (1980b 292).

4 Fig 2b is not a representation of JE 71815 as noted in the caption to the drawing, but of JE 71816.

Description: A figure is striding to the left (!)[1]; no feet are visible. It is holding an unusually shaped shield in the right hand, viewed sideways with the top rear curving to the inside so as to provide further protection.[2] The left arm is raised but further it is unclear, so the weapon[3] that is brandished, cannot be identified. The figure wears an undecorated, knee-length kilt with a folded-over flap, belt and tassels. The crown is only partly shown, but it is definitely the Egyptian white crown (as is clear on the next item). It is unclear whether the crown contained a uraeus[4], as is true of a beard. To the left of the figure are the remains of the (right?) arm of a worshipper with an incense burner (𓊮).

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef because it is standing in a typical warlike pose, holding a shield in front. [shield]

RR5 Cairo JE 71815. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Zaqaziq.

Object: Limestone stela, 18 (h) x 12 (w) cm with rounded top, crude, rudely and deeply incised. *Date*: 19th or 20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Leibovitch 1939 154-155 pl XVIII. *Literature*: Giveon 1980 148; Helck 1971 451 no 7; Schulman 1979 no 29, 1984b 859 pl 2c*[5]; Seeden 1980 pl 137:6*; Stadelmann 1967 70.

Description: The figure is shown without base or base-line as if hanging in the air, striding to the left as on *RR4*. The left hand is held upwards, but with no weapon[6] and a shield is held in the right hand. The shield is viewed from the side as on *RR4*[7], but this time the shield is decorated and shown with the wickerwork and

---

1 The left-facing figure is uncommon, as on *RR5*. The right is more usual on most of the Reshef stelae and as is known from Egyptian art in general (cf Schäfer 1974 300ff). But note that the left-facing direction of gods is sometimes depicted on scarabs (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 295 fig 48, 314 figs 123-124).

2 Or is this only due to a difference in artistic perspective?

3 Schulman's (1979 no 30) "maceaxe" is not visible.

4 Contra Leibovitch (1939 154); Schulman (1984b 860 fig 2b) and Fulco's (1976 18) "apparently".

5 This is not a drawing of JE 71816 but of 71815.

6 According to Stadelmann the artist forgot to depict a weapon. It could just as well be that the piece is unfinished, but there may be another interpretation, namely that the figure was indeed depicted with an empty raised hand as a gesture of power (for detailed discussion see *4.1*).

7 Schulman and earlier Stadelmann interpret the strange rendering of the shield as a form of artistic convention.

three bands which serve as reinforcements. The object in the right hand is no quiver or bow-case[1] with three or four individually outlined bows. The bows are the upper curve of the shield as on *RR4*. The figure wears the white crown of Egypt without a uraeus and a knee-length kilt with a decorated (stripes) folded-over flap and belt. Around the neck is an object that might be a pectoral or cylinder seal, or an amulet (?) on a string[2]. Left (on a lower level on a base-line) stands a worshipper with an incense burner (without flames)[3] in the right hand. The left hand dangles down. He is facing right, dressed in the same type of kilt, with an ankle-length robe over it. Above the incense burner is a short inscription.

Identification: According to the pose and the shield, the figure can be identified as Reshef. [shield]

Inscription: *jmj-r jdbw jb* = "overseer of the fields Jeb[4]".

RR6 Zaqaziq 368. University Museum, Zaqaziq. Zaqaziq - Bakr excavations 1978-1979, find no 368.

Object: Stela of light green faience, 9,6 (h) x 7,8 (w) cm, with missing right hand top (rounded?) and middle part, reconstructed from four fragments, scene painted in black. *Date*: 19th or 20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Schulman 1984b 855-863 pls 1a-b*.

Description: A barefooted figure strides to the right. It is standing on a double base-line and wears a short knee-length kilt with a stripe on the lower border and a large tassel (cord?) between the legs. Around the waist is a belt fastened with a knot in front and a slender sword hanging from the right-hand side. The sword has a pommel. It is the only case that the sword is shown in this way on the Reshef items. Only half of the upper torso has survived. To the right stands an offering table, but the contents cannot be identified.

Identification: Schulman identifies the figure as the god Reshef on the basis of: (i) only one stelae depicts a foreign human with such a kilt (Berlin 14122 = Gressmann 1928 no 79), whereas most stelae depicting foreign deities belong to Reshef, (ii) the position of the arms which could have been held in the air to make space for the

---

1 Contra Giveon (1980 148); Seeden (1980 144) and Leibovitch (1939 155) with Schulman (1984b).

2 For a cylinder seal on a line around the neck, see the Naram Sin stela (Keel 1984b fig 122).

3 Shown with flames on *RR4*.

4 Stadelmann reads Abi and proposes an Asiatic dedicator.

offering table and to brandish weapons such as on *RR14* (Schulman pl 2a)[1] and (iii) the typical pose of Reshef. These arguments are inconclusive to definitely identify the figure as Reshef. The sword is not known on other inscribed Reshef stelae, whereas the figure identified as Baᶜal carries it (eg *BR1*). The pose and kilt could easily belong to Baᶜal as well. The fact that the item comes from Zaqaziq as the previous two items, may indicate that Reshef is involved. [?]

Inscription: Schulman (1984b 856) reads *mȝᶜ* above the table.

RR7 OIC 10569. Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Athribis (cf inscription), bought in Memphis.

Object: Limestone stela, 25 (h) x 17 (w) cm, with rounded top, four lines of inscription. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Simpson 1951-1952 185-186. *Literature*: Cooper 1987 4-5; Drower in *CAH* II/2 51; Fulco 1976 14 (E29); Fuscaldo 1974 119; Gese 1970 143 fig 11*; Giveon 1980 146-147; Gray 1964 pl 19; Gubel 1980 7-8; Helck 1971 452 no 15; Keel 1980b 199-200 fig 302*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 197-198 fig 30b*; Pope 1970 185; Pritchard 1969b 164, 305 no 476; Röllig in Haussig 1965 306; Simpson in *LdÄ* V 1984 245; Seeden 1980 pl 137:1*; Spalinger 1978 516; Stadelmann 1967 70; Thompson 1970 148; Vernus 1978 56-57; Weippert 1988 311 fig 3.55:4*; Welten in Galling 1977 107.

Description: A barefooted figure is striding to the right. The legs are shown with the knees in detail, but without a base-line. It wears the white Egyptian crown, with the head of a gazelle in profile. There are two very large streamers wrapped around and attached slightly below the tip of the crown. These are hanging down behind the right arm, nearly reaching down to the seam of the kilt. The beard is not Egyptian, but the thicker curved Asiatic type. Around the neck is a broad collar. The short knee-length kilt is fastened by a thick belt. Across the chest are two (thinner) bands. There is no religious symbolism involved in these bands, but they are common to warriors. They served to fasten weapons (like a quiver on *RR20*) or only the kilt (as on *BR5*) but could only indicate that warriors are involved (Pope 1970). Perhaps the bands are without weapons because the axe has been taken from them. The kilt is decorated with a border along the seam and four cords with tassels hanging between the legs and two pairs standing out on either side. The figure is brandishing a large fenestrated battle-axe with two sockets or eyes in the right hand. On the right arm

---

1 Note, however, that on *RR15* and *RR22* the shield is held in the "normal" position in front of the figure, despite the presence of an offering-table in front of the figure; with offerings (*RR22*) or without them (*RR15*).

hangs the enigmatic "lute"[1], which is seen above on *RR2*. Here it is much smaller and in a different position on the arm. It is no weapon, but a musical instrument, decorated with two cords with tassels as on *RR20*. The left hand holds a rectangular shield with a rounded top and a long spear. The spear rests on the ground. It is depicted in full with rim and rounded top. Inscriptions are seen in front of the face and on the sides of the legs.

Identification: This is a classic example of a Reshef stela. The figure is typical of Reshef and can positively be identified as this god according to the accompanying inscription. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw qȝb.f nṯr ʿȝ dj.f n.k ʿnḫ snb nb rʿnb n kȝ n wʿb ḥr ḫntj ḫtjj nb km-kȝ mrr-rʿ swr mȝʿ-ḫrw* = "Reshef when he multiplies[2], the great god. May he give to you (all) life and all health daily, and for the *kȝ* of the purification priest of Horus, the first one of Khetj[3], lord of Athribis, loved one of Reʿ, Sul, the justified".

RR8 UC 14401. University College, London (Petrie Collection). Purchased in the Delta (Memphis[4]?).

Object: Limestone stela, 29 (h) x 20 (w) cm with rounded top and outlined. Crudely incised relief and hieroglyphs, traces of red paint on the figures. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Stewart 1976 44 pl 35:1*. *Literature*: Giveon 1980 148; Schulman 1979 no 13, 1984b pl 1c*; Seeden 1980 pl 137:3*.

---

1 Helck identifies this as a mace ("Keule"). Fulco is uncertain and proposes "animal tail" or "small version of our 'lute'". Simpson has an animal tail and tassels.

2 On this cf Simpson (1951-1952 186) who translates "who winds about" and interprets this as referring to lightning or the storm god turning about to attack the enemy. This is rejected by Fulco who argues against the idea that Reshef is a storm god. Giveon (1980 146f) translates "intestine" (cf Gardiner 1982 466, 596) and rejects any relation with war. Fulco follows Helck who translates "der vermehrt...." (cf Erman/Grapow 1982 V 8-9 and see also the reading in Vernus). Helck's interpretation is accepted, *qbȝ.f* being a circumstancial *sḏm.f* (Spalinger).

3 Horus Khenty-Khety was the patron deity of Athribis, the tenth nome of lower Egypt (Simpson). Cf also Koefoed-Petersen (1975 134-136).

4 See also Spalinger (1978 516).

Description: The figure is striding to the right, standing barefooted on a pedestal[1] with its feet apart. It wears the white Egyptian crown, with two long streamers wrapped around the lower part. The streamers are hanging down behind the right arm and nearly reaching down to the seam of the kilt. No traces of a beard or a symbol on the crown are visible. A broad collar is around the neck. The figure is dressed in a knee-length kilt with an undecorated, fold-over flap and two cords with tassels[2], hanging from the seam on the left and right. The figure brandishes a long thin hand-weapon (sword?)[3] in the right hand. In the left hand is a shield with a spear. The shaft of the spear is on the ground. The shield is seen from the side and curved at the top *away* from the figure on the left. This is uncommon as the curve is usually *towards* the figure. To the right stands a worshipper (identified by the inscription) with hands in a gesture of praise. He wears a typical Egyptian wig with curls and a long cloak reaching to his ankles, bound with a large knot in front. Above are four inscriptions, divided by four lines.

Identification: The inscription identifies the god as Reshef. The pose and weapons are also typical of this god. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ꜥꜣ* and *wꜣḥ mꜣꜥ-ḫrw* = "Reshef, the great god" and "Wakh, the justified".

RR9 Brussels E. 5294. Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussels. Memphis (Mit Rahina), temple of Ptah[4].

Object: Limestone stela, 17 (h) x 12,6 (w) x 5 (t) cm, with rounded top, outlined, upper part chipped away. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100) as *RR8*.

Published: van Wijngaarden 1929 35 fig 23 (cf Petrie 1910 39). *Literature*: Fulco 1976 15 (E32); Helck 1971 452 no 24; Schulman 1979 77-78 no 25, 1985 93-94 note 22 fig 18*; Stadelmann 1967 68 .

Description: A figure of which the head, neck and upper-left torso are not visible, is striding to the right. It is standing barefooted on a base-line. The figure is dressed in a short knee-length kilt with cords and tassels between the legs (three), on the sides (two) and in front on the belt (two). In the left hand it holds a shield and spear to the front. The spear rests on the ground. The rectangular shield with rounded top is

---

1 Stewart has "dais".

2 Stewart identifies this with a compound bow hanging from his waist, but this is not the case. Giveon also argues for tassels against Stewart.

3 Stewart and Schulman (1984b 858n11) have "sword" and Giveon only "weapon". Schulman (1979) has "mace-axe", but it cannot be a mace-type weapon because it is without a mace-head or axe-blade.

4 The stela is mentioned in Petrie (1910 39) together with *RR10*, which comes from the same location and is therefore dated in the same period.

shown with the upper part of the shield and spear not visible. Uncommon is the fact that the shield is also rounded at the bottom. The right arm is not visible.[1] On the figure's back are what may be the remains of the lower part of a quiver[2] and behind this is part of an unidentifiable object which looks like a tail with stripes[3].

Identification: As done by most other scholars, the figure is identified as Reshef because of the characteristic warlike pose and the spear and shield. [spear/shield]

RR10 UC 14400. University College, London (Petrie Collection). Memphis (Mit Rahina), temple of Ptah (*PM* III/2/3 pl LXXI).

Object: Limestone stela, 22 (h) x 18 (w) cm with rounded top (?), parts of the upper and lower edges are lost, large break on upper right side, shallow sunk relief with incised hieroglyphs. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Stewart 1976 44 pl 35:2*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 11 (E23); Gressmann 1928 100 pl CXLII no 349; Helck 1971 452 no 11; Leibovitch 1941 491 fig 60*; Petrie 1910 39 pl XXXIX:5, 1915 39 (532); *PM* III/2/3 849 (cf pl LXXI); Schulman 1979 no 10, 1985 fig 10*; Seeden 1980 pl 37:4*; Stadelmann 1967 69.

Description: A figure is striding to the right, standing barefooted on a broad base-line. It wears the Egyptian white crown with the uraeus-symbol (𓆗) and an Egyptian beard. Around the neck is a broad collar. The figure is dressed in an undecorated knee-length kilt with a broad belt. A bull's tail is affixed to the kilt and hangs down to the feet. Suspended from the belt is the lute[4] as on *RR2*, with the base on the left side and the handle with two cords with tassels on the right side. The figure brandishes a pear-shaped mace (𓌉) in the right hand and holds a small shield (curved towards the figure viewed sideways) in the left hand (not clearly visible). In front of the figure is an offering-table and a worshipper kneeling down with his hands in a

1 Schulman proposes that the lost right hand held a weapon as is known from other Reshef stelae.

2 This is too large to be a streamer.

3 On this enigmatic symbol see the discussion in Schulman (1985). It cannot be a streamer because it looks totally different from the other examples with streamers. It is too far away from the back (with the quiver still in between) and would have been an extremely long streamer with a too-wide angle. The only other objects that are shown in the field behind the figure are: the lute, personified *ʿnḫ* with *ḫw*-fan (*RR23-24*), lotus (*RR12*, *19* and *22*) and the sun-shade (*RR11*, *21*). Not one of these resembles the object in any way. The object is too thick to be the handle of a lute or the lotus and the sun-shade; the *ʿnḫ* with *ḫw*-symbol is shown with a sitting figure and not one standing.

4 Stewart has "large club (?)". Leibovitch interprets it as a weapon, as does Helck, Stadelmann and earlier Gressmann. Fulco has "lute-like instrument".

gesture of prayer/praise (𓀢). To the left are the signs *ʿnḫ* (= "life") and *nfr* (= "good") and on the right upper side four lines of inscription.

Identification: The god is dentified by the inscription as Reshef. He is in his typical pose with his typical attributes and weapons (lute, mace and shield). [inscription]

Inscription: *ršp nṯr ʿꜣ rdj ʿnḫ nfr ... šdw ... (ḫ)tp* = "Reshef, the great god, who gives a good life ... Shedu ... (Kh)etep".

RR11 Aberdeen 1578. Anthropological Museum, University of Aberdeen (earlier Grant-Bey collection). Memphis (Mit Rahina), palace of Merneptah?[1]

Object: Limestone stela, 33 (h) x 22,3 (w) cm, with rounded top, outlined, inscriptions deeply incised, figures not very clear. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100)[2].

Published: Goossens 1940 65-66. *Literature*: Albright 1931-1932 167; Cook 1925 115; Fulco 1976 6-7 (E13); Griffith 1909 271-272; Helck 1971 452 no 25; de Meulenaere 1955 130-131; Pritchard 1969a 250b; Reid 1912 197 no 1578; Schrader 1903 224, 474; Schulman 1979 no 7, nn21, 53, 1985 fig 13*; Spiegelberg 1898 120-122, 1908 531; Stadelmann 1967 55, 61f, 69; van Wijngaarden 1929 33.

Description: The figure is striding to the right, standing barefoot on a base-line. It wears the white crown[3] and an undecorated knee-length kilt with a flap, a belt (?) and a bull's tail hanging down behind its back. The figure brandishes a mace-axe in the right hand and holds a rectangular shield with rounded top. The shield is small and without a spear. Behind the figure (lower part unclear) is the sun-shade (𓋺) (cf *RR23*). In front stands an offering table and a worshipper (much smaller) who is holding something. There is an inscription in four lines above the figures.

Identification: The inscription identifies the figure as Reshef-Shulman[4]. The iconography (pose and weapons) is also typical of the god Reshef. [inscription]

---

1 Cf also Spalinger (1978 516).

2 The following dates are given: 19th dynasty (Reid); 20th dynasty (Stadelmann 69) and even 18th dynasty before Amenophis II (de Meulenare 1955 and followed by Fulco).

3 Definitely not with symbol or streamer or beard, nor with a broad collar as in the drawing of Schulman when compared with the original!

4 On this god and his relation to Reshef, see Albright (1931-1932, 1968 79); Fulco (1976 25ff); Stadelmann (1967 61ff).

Inscription: *ršp s3rm'ntjw wsjr 'ntwj-'t j3ḥms* = "Reshef Shulman. Osiris,[1] the official of the incense storehouse".

RR12 Memphis 2792. Present location unknown. Memphis (Mit Rahina) (Clarence Fisher excavations), palace of Merneptah.

Object: Stela, 67,2 (h) x 43 (w) cm[2] of creamy limestone with rounded top, two registers, badly weathered surface in upper register, deeply incised (Schulman 1981).

Date: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Fulco 1976 8-9 (E18), 10 fig 1* pl I; Schulman 1981 157ff fig 1[3].

Literature: *PM* III/2/3 861 maps pls LXXI-LXXI; Schulman 1979 no 14, nn13, 54, 1985 95 fig 7* and Spalinger 1978 516.

Description:[4] Upper register: The figure is shown striding barefooted to the right. It wears the Egyptian double crown (𓋖). The upright projection of the red crown of Lower Egypt is visible in front.[5] The figure brandishes what may be a long thin hand-weapon[6] in the right hand, but the stela is too damaged to be conclusive on this. There seems to be a rectangular shield with rounded top (the remains can scarcely be seen) and a spear in the left hand. The shaft of the spear standing on the ground is visible. To the right is an offering table and on the left stands a lotus on a pedestal dais or shrine. Two inscriptions are in front of the figure's head. Lower register: An offering table with foodstuffs, etc, a bottle on a stand, flowers[7] and a kneeling worshipper facing left with his hands in a gesture of praise (cf inscription!). There are inscriptions above the figure and to the left of the offerings on the lower register.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef although the figure and weapons are very unclear. Reshef is mentioned in both the inscriptions. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršp nṯr '3 nb pt r j3w n ršp snj t3 n k3.f dj.j j3w n p3j.f ḥr nfr sḥtp.j nfrw.f jw snb.k 'wj.j (ḥr) (dw)3.k jr.tj(j) n m3 'wt.k n k3 n sš p3-qr* = "Reshef, the

1 "Osiris" is used as a title for the deceased.

2 Definitely not 430 x 672 cm as in Fulco!

3 The difference in interpretation between Fulco and Schulman can be seen by comparing their line-drawings of this stela. Schulman's study is a very important revision.

4 The description is based on the photograph and line-drawing in Fulco.

5 Cf the drawing of Schulman (1985) for a different interpretation.

6 Schulman (1981 157, n4) has "mace-axe(?)". Fulco has "pole-axe", but this is not known on other stelae nor does he cite comparative material.

7 See Schulman (1981 159) for detail.

great god, lord of the sky. Praising Reshef and making obeisance to his *kꜣ*. I give adoration to your beautiful face. I satisfy your beauty. May you heal (me)! My arms adore you and both my eyes see your limbs on behalf of the *kꜣ* of the scribe Paqer".

RR13 Cairo JT 15/11/21/1 (earlier JE 4658). Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Abydos 1310, northern necropolis, western zone.

Object: Limestone stela, 15 (h) x 11 (w) cm with rounded top. *Date*: Beginning of the 19th dynasty (c 1300) (Stadelmann)[1].

Published: Mariette 1880 497 no 1310*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 18 (E41); Helck 1971 452 no 26; Müller 1902 147n1; Schulman 1979 no 26; Spiegelberg 1908 529-532 pl 4; Stadelmann 1967 72; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:10*.

Description: A barefooted figure is striding to the right (left foot missing). It wears the white Egyptian crown and a beard. Around the crown is what seems like part of a streamer. Around the neck is a collar. The figure is dressed in a short, undecorated, knee-length kilt with a belt. It brandishes a thin hand-weapon (sword?)[2] in the right hand and holds a shield with spear in the left hand. Only the upper part of the spear is visible. The shield is viewed sideways and is slightly rounded at the top.[3] Above the figure hovers the double winged sun-disk (). This is the only example of this symbol on an item depicting the god Reshef.[4]

Identification: The pose and weaponry are typical of Reshef. [spear/shield]

RR14 Deir el-Medina 1. Antiquities service magazine in Deir el-Medina. From a house in the village of Deir el-Medina (Thebes west) (cf *PM* I/2 plans I and XIII).

Object: Painted limestone (figure red, setting black) stela, 20 (h) x 15 (w) x 4,5 (t) cm with rounded top, outlined, damaged in the centre. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

---

1 He bases his argument on the roughness of composition and ascribes the piece to a member of the building force. Spiegelberg also has a Ramesside date, but Müller's "Hellenistic" dating is incorrect.

2 Schulman calls it a "shafted hand-weapon". A mace type is excluded as there is no mace-head visible.

3 This shield differs from the shields in side-view perspective encountered so far, as it does not have a definite curve to the inside (*RR2*) or outside (*RR8*), nor is it as strongly curved as the Zaqaziq shields (*RR4* and *5*).

4 It seems curious that only Stadelmann devotes much attention to this important Egyptian symbol.

Published: Bruyère 1934 86-87 fig 54. *Literature*: Giveon 1980 149; *PM* I/2 705; Schulman 1979 no 24, 1984b 858 pl 2a*.

Description: A barefooted figure strides to the right on a base-line. It wears the white crown (no symbol is visible as on Schulman's 1984 drawing), broad collar, belt and short undecorated knee-length kilt. It brandishes a mace-axe (the head of the mace is clearly visible) in the right hand and holds a shield in the left hand (no spear) lifted above the waist. The rectangular shield with rounded top is shown fully, slightly tilting towards the figure, with a handle. In front of the figure stands a small offering table with bread on it.

Identification: The pose and weaponry are typical of Reshef. [shield]

RR15 Leibovitch. Leibovitch private collection, obtained from Keimer. Present location unknown. Bought in Cairo (Deir el-Medina?).

Object: Limestone amulet[1], 5 (h) x 4 (w) cm in the form of a stela with rounded top, outlined, poorly executed. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (1300-1100).

Published: Leibovitch 1939 146-147 pl XV:1. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 15 (E33); Helck 1971 451 no 3; Giveon 1980 147; Schulman 1979 no 31; Seeden 1980 pl 138:19*.

Description: The figure is shown striding to the right, standing barefoot on a pedestal. The figure is very unclear, but it is wearing the white crown and a short knee-length kilt with a belt. In the right hand is a brandished mace-axe[2] and in the left hand it holds a shield and spear above an empty offering-table[3].

Identification: The pose and weaponry are typical of Reshef. [shield/spear]

RR16 Deir el-Medina 2. Antiquities service magazine in Deir el-Medina. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina.

Object: Limestone stela, 11,5 (w) x 9,8 (h) x 4 (t) cm, with upper half lost and missing top (rounded?). *Date*: 19th dynasty (1300-1200).

---

1 This object is included under the stelae because of its form, although it is the size of a typical amulet.

2 Also Leibovitch, Fulco and Schulman, but note the awkward position of the arm (already observed by Fulco who calls it "flung clumsily to the side"), not above the head as is usual, but bent backwards. At first glance it may resemble a spear/javelin, at the point of being thrown. Cf contra Reshef with a spear in this hand under *RR2*.

3 It is unclear what was supposedly on the table, but in comparison with the other material, it could have been food or flowers.

Published: Bruyère 1937 17 fig 6* (lower right). *Literature*: Schulman 1979 no 28.
Description: A barefooted figure striding to the right. Its head is broken away and only two streamers hanging down behind the back are visible. The figure wears a knee-length kilt with a belt and an undecorated flap. It holds a rectangular shield (with rounded top?) and a spear, with only the lower part of a spear and shield visible.
Identification: The weaponry (shield and spear) is typical of Reshef. [shield/spear]

RR17 BM 263. British Museum, London (ex-collection Belmore 1843). Thebes west, Deir el-Medina[1].
Object: Limestone stela, 36 (h) x 25 (w) cm, with rounded top, outlined, break on lower left corner. Shallow, slightly modelled in sunken relief, surface whitened with signs of ancient repairs in the form of a rectangular insertion[2]. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).
Published: James 1970 54-55 pl XLIIIA:2. *Literature*: Budge 1909 248; Fulco 1976 12 (E25); Giveon 1980 146; Helck 1971 452 no 190; *PM* I/2 730; Sadek 1988 160; Schulman 1979 no 8, 1985 96 fig 5*; Stadelmann 1967 67.
Description: A barefoot figure is striding[3] to the right, standing on a double base-line. On its head is the white crown of Egypt, with two streamers wrapped around the lower part of the crown with a knot at the back and dangling down behind the right arm. The symbol on the crown is not clearly identifiable (damaged), but the Egyptian beard is clearly visible. The figure is dressed in a knee-length kilt, the belt girdled around the waist with four bands hanging down[4]. There are three single cords with tassels: one in the middle and two on the sides which end in flower patterns. The figure brandishes a mace-axe in the right hand and holds a spear and rectangular shield (with rounded top) in its left hand. The shaft of the spear rests on the ground. A decorated quiver with arrows is suspended on a string over the right shoulder. In front of the figure stands an offering-table with a libation jar and lotus. Inscriptions appear: (1) to the left of, (2) above and (3) underneath the figure.

---

1 The inscription is typical of the Deir el-Medina stelae, but see the criticism of Schulman (1979 n51) on the use of such formulae in determining the provenance of an object.

2 Cf in this regard also BM 283 (James 1970) and BM 814 (Hall 1925).

3 It is definitely not sitting as Stadelmann (1967 66) and Helck argue, they must be confusing this with another stela.

4 Definitely not pleated as argued by Schulman (1979 72) and as shown in his drawing (1985 fig 5).

Identification: Identifiable as Reshef according to the inscription, the typical pose and weapons. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ꜥꜣ nb pt nḥḥ hqꜣ ḏt ꜥḥꜥw nfr ḥr ẖt.f ršp(t)w nṯr ꜥꜣ .. sꜣ nb pt sꜣ ꜥnḫ ḏd wꜣs nb ḥꜣ.f nb jr.n sḏm ꜥš m st mꜣꜥt p*(?) = "Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, ruler for eternity and a lifetime, with beautiful face. Reshef, the great god ..(?), lord of the sky. All protection, all life, all stability, all power are with him. Made by the servant in the place of truth".

RR18 Wilkinson[1]. Location of original unknown. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina (?)[2].

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Wilkinson 1878 III pl LV:5*. *Literature*: Fuscaldo 1972 117 fig 1*; Helck 1971 452 no 22; Lanzone 1884 IV 485 pl CCXXXXII:2*; Müller 1893 311*; Pietschmann 1889 150 (left)*; Schulman 1979 no 12, 1985 93 fig 3*; Seeden 1980 pl 137:5*; Stadelmann 1967 68; van Wijngaarden 1929 33 fig 21 (left)*.

Description: The figure is striding to the right, standing barefoot on a base-line. It wears the white crown of Egypt. There is a gazelle head attached to it in front. It has an Egyptian beard and around the neck is a broad collar with a pectoral[3]. The figure

---

1 This stela is only printed in Wilkinson, who does not give his source. The original could not be found, also not in the BM. It may be that this is the same as *RR17* (also suggested by Spalinger 1978 516), but the inscriptions differ, so that it seems as if two seperate stelae are involved. Fulco (1976 13-14n60) tries to identify the stela, but causes even greater confusion (cf Schulman 1979 n52). Most of the other publications are based on Wilkinson's drawing and are therefore of a secondary nature. This stela is published with these reservations and limitations in mind. The description is based on the drawing of Wilkinson. None of these interpretations can, therefore, be substantiated and are of a secondary nature. It may be that Wilkinson confused different stelae (or used *RR17*?) and included iconographic attributes from other stelae in his drawing.

2 Cf *RR17* with note on the formula "in the place of truth". As this formula also occurs on this stela, it may indicate that the stela stems from Thebes. The PN is also known from Deir el-Medina (cf inscription).

3 Not everything that Wilkinson represents, should be accepted. He may be exaggerating, as he does with the stela *RR24*. On this item the figure is wearing a broad collar as on *RR18*, but not with such elaborate decoration when one compares the drawing of Wilkinson with the original! See also on *RR30*. The pectoral on *RR18* is, nevertheless, quite unique, inasmuch as one can trust

is dressed in an undecorated knee-length kilt with a flap and a belt girdled around the waist. There is a knot in front[1]. The figure brandishes a mace-axe in the right hand and holds a spear and rectangular shield with rounded top. The shaft of the spear rests on the ground. A decorated quiver with five arrows is suspended on its back. Inscriptions appear: (1) to the left of, (2) above and (3) underneath the figure.

Identification: Identifiable as Reshef according to the inscription and the typical pose and weaponry[2]. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ꜥꜣ nb pt sḏm ꜥš m st mꜣꜥt ḥsj-sw-nbf* = "Reshef, the great god, the lord of the sky. The servant in the palace of truth, Khesunebef".

RR19[3] (a) *Berlin 14462* and (b) *Turin 50067*. (a) Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin and (b) Museo Egizio di Torino. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina?

Object: Limestone stela fragments, both with rounded top, outlined, (a) upper left, (b) right part with lower part lost, (a) 28,5 (h) x 23,5 (w) cm and (b) 34 (h) x 19 (w) x 5 (t) cm. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: (a) Leibovitch 1939 147-148 pl XV:2. (b) Spiegelberg 1908 529 pl I:1; Tosi/Roccati 1972 104, 291 (pl). *Literature*: (a) Cook 1925 pl XXV:2; Fulco 1976 5 (E9); Helck 1971 451 no 4. (a) and (b) Giveon 1980 145, 148; Grdseloff 1942 7-11 pl II*; Roeder 1926 II 200; Schulman 1979 no 5, 1985 92, n16 fig 6*; Stadelmann 1967 63-65.

Description: The figure faces to the right; only the upper torso is visible. It wears the Egyptian white crown with the head of a gazelle[4] in front and an Egyptian beard. The figure brandishes a pear-shaped mace in the right hand and holds a spear and shield (handle visible) in the other hand. The shaft of the spear is visible below,

---

Wilkinson. For a highly elaborated decorated collar see *RR28*. Maybe he had this item in mind when making his drawing?

1 One should also be careful in merely accepting the drawing of Wilkinson. For a clear belt with knot in front, see *RR6*.

2 Stadelmann goes a bit further and connects the image with the title "Reshef of the arrows" (*ršp ḥṣ*). On the inscription cf Fulco (1976 49-51); van den Branden (1971 411ff) and Schretter (1974 151ff). Cf also Schulman (1979 74, n40), but he prefers the meaning "darts" (cf also 1981 164, n51). On the relation between the images and the inscriptions, see Schulman (1985).

3 Although these two items came into the collections of two different museums (Berlin 1889 and Turin 1900-1901), they are treated together. Grdseloff should be credited for making this connection. For a drawing, see Grdseloff (1942 pl II) and Schulman (1985 fig 6).

4 Most scholars interpret this as a uraeus, but this can only be a gazelle head when the original is viewed.

partly concealed by the offering table. The shield is rectangular with rounded top, shown fully and with a metal disk above for further protection (cf Yadin 1963 83). To the left is the upper part of a lotus flower[1] in a lily. There are inscriptions above and to the right of the figure.

Identification: The inscription identifies the figure as Reshef and the pose and weapons are also typical. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ʿꜣ sḏm nẖj wdn(.j) jḥt nbt nfrt wʿbt n kꜣ.k* = "Reshef, the great god, the hearer of prayers. (I) offer every good and pure thing to thy *kꜣ*".

RR20 Varielle. Private collection of Varielle. Location of original unknown.[2] Thebes west, Deir el-Medina[3].

Object: Damaged limestone stela fragment, base-line on left, top and right side broken away. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Leibovitch 1941 pl XLV*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 11 (E22); Helck 1971 452 no 20; *PM* I/2 734; Schulman 1979 no 23, 1985 93, nn22, 23 fig 9*; Stadelmann 1967 67.

Description: Figure striding to the right. The feet are lost, as are the left arm and right hand, although the raised right arm is visible. The front of the face of the figure and most of the headdress are lost. However, it wears the white crown with two streamers dangling down. Around the neck is a broad collar. The figure is dressed in a short knee-length kilt with flap, fastened with a belt around the waist. Over the right arm hangs a lute[4] with the base facing down. This is attached with cords wrapped around the biceps. Also visible are two long thin cords with tassels. Over the left shoulder, suspending on bands across the chest, hangs an empty quiver. To the left is an inscription.

Identification: The pose belongs to both Baʿal and Reshef, but the lute is more typical of Reshef (eg *RR2-3*, *7* and *10*). [lute]

---

1 Stadelmann has "sun-shade" (64 citing Leibovitch), but note that he confuses this with *RR21* to which Leibovitch really refers. Leibovitch clearly describes the symbol on *RR19* as a lotus (not on 151-152, but on 147-148).

2 This item, which is published by Leibovitch, is said to have been owned by A Varielle. However, correspondence with his brother (J Varielle in Lyon) led to nothing and the present location is still unknown.

3 Provenance not certain, but see the inscription (so also Spalinger 1978 516).

4 Leibovitch; Helck; Schulman (1985 93 [1979 no 23 "lutelike"]) and Stadelmann have "mace".

Inscription: *jr.n sš m st mꜣꜥt rꜥms* = "Made by the scribe in the place of truth[1], Rames[2]".

RR21 Cairo JE 70222. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina?[3]

Object: Limestone stela, 18 (h) x 12 (w) cm, with rounded top, outlined, slightly damaged on upper left and middle right. *Date*: Tutꜥankhamun (1333-1323 [with Stadelmann])[4].

Published: Leibovitch 1939 148-154 pl XVI. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 5 (E10); Grdseloff 1942 8; Helck 1971 451 no 5; Giveon 1980 145; Leibovitch 1948 fig 1*; Schulman 1979 no 9, 1985 fig 12*; Seeden 1980 pl 137:2*; Stadelmann 1967 65.

Description: A barefooted figure is striding to the right on a base-line. It wears the white crown, with a single streamer ending in a tassel or flower(?) hanging down from the tip of the crown and an Egyptian beard. Around the neck and chest are respectively a broad collar and a corselet[5]. The short knee-length kilt with flap is girdled with a belt. The figure brandishes a mace-axe in the right hand and holds a shield in the left hand (there is no spear). The shield with rounded top is shown sideways and curves towards the figure. To the left is a sun-shade[6]. In front of the figure stands a worshipper holding an offering and pouring out a sacrifice on an open lotus or lotus-shaped vessel on the ground[7]. There are inscriptions: above the worshipper (1-4) and below the figures (5).

Identification: The pose and weapons are typical of the god Reshef and the inscription identifies the figure as Reshef. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw ꜥꜣ jrj.n jmn--mjpt jrj.n sḏm(-ꜥš) jmn-m-jpt wḥm ꜥnḫ* = "Reshef, the great (god). Made by Jemenemjepet[8]. Made by the servant Jemenemjepet, may he live again".

---

1 This is a typical title for Deir el-Medina.

2 On this Theban Deir el-Medina PN, cf Stadelmann and Leibovitch.

3 Cf the PN and title of the dedicator in the inscription (also Spalinger).

4 Grdseloff (8n2) dates it in the 18th dynasty according to the formula *wḥm ꜥnḫ*.

5 Fulco has "upper garment" and Stadelmann "trägerartiges Obergewand".

6 Cf detailed discussion in Leibovitch (151-152 with figs 6-7).

7 Cf Leibovitch (149-150 with fig 5). Is there a bird as in Leibovitch?

8 On this Theban PN and title, cf Giveon.

RR22 Compiègne. Musée Vivenel, Compiègne. Perhaps from Deir el-Medina?

Object: Damaged limestone stela, 13,5 (h) x 11,5 (w) cm, with rounded top, outlined, large crack running diagonally from lower left to upper right side (Schulman 1985 90). Painted in red and black. *Date*: Ramesside (c 1300-1000).

Published: Schulman 1985 89-106 figs 1-2*.

Description: A barefoot figure is striding to the right on a base-line[1]. It wears the white crown, with an Egyptian beard. Around the neck is a broad collar. The short, knee-length kilt, with flap, is girdled with a belt and has a knot in front. The figure brandishes a large mace-axe in the right hand and holds a rectangular shield with rounded top in the left hand (the hand is not visible). The shield is shown in full, but with no spear. To the left is a large lotus flower (the lower part is not visible) and in front of the figure stands an offering table with flowers and bread.

Identification: The figure is identified as Reshef according to the pose and weaponry. [shield]

RR23 Cambridge EGA 3002.1943. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (ex-collection Gayer-Anderson). Thebes west, Deir el-Medina[2].

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top, 16 (h) x 12 (w) cm, outlined with two registers, damage marks on lower register. *Date*: Beginning of the 19th dynasty (c 1300).

Published: Janssen 1950 209-212 figs 18-19. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 13 (E27); Fuscaldo 1972 117; Helck 1971 451 no 1; *PM* I/2 733; Schulman 1979 no 3, 1984b pl 1c*, 1985 94-95 fig 14*; Stadelmann 1967 65-66.

Description: Upper register: The figure is sitting on a typical Egyptian *ḥwt*-throne[3], facing the right. The feet are together on a double base-line. The figure wears the white crown of Egypt, with two streamers (attached around the crown with a knot at the back) dangling down from the crown behind the raised right arm. The part in front of the face is executed in such a way, that it is unclear what kind of beard it is[4]. The figure is brandishing a pear-shaped mace in the raised right hand which passes behind the crown. In the other hand it holds a very large rectangular shield[5]

---

1 But not as far apart as in the other cases.

2 Cf the inscription (also Spalinger).

3 See Kuhlmann (1977 82-83); Metzger (1985 nos 105ff) and now Gubel (1987 129ff).

4 Schulman (1985 fig 14) adds an Egyptian beard; also unclear is the collar which he adds. The same is true of Janssen and Fulco's gazelle head.

5 This is very broad and much larger than the shields encountered thus far.

with rounded top (it is shown with the handle). The figure is clothed in a short knee-length kilt with belt. Behind the figure is a personified *ʿnḫ* (☥) with arms, holding a *ḫw*-fan (☥)[1]. To the right stands an offering-table. There are inscriptions: (1) above the figure, (2) behind it and (3) in front of the shield. Lower register: On the right two male figures (facing left) are kneeling with their hands in a gesture of praise. There are inscriptions.

Identification: The sitting figure can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription and the typical weapons. [inscription]

Inscription: *sꜣ ʿnḫ ḥꜣ.f ršpw nṯr ʿꜣ rdj jꜣwt n ršpw nṯr ʿꜣ dj.f ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb (n kꜣ n sḏm) ʿš m st mꜣʿt pꜣ-šd sꜣ.f* = "The protection and life is behind him. Reshef, the great god. Giving praise to Reshef, the great god, that he may give life, prosperity and health (on behalf of the *kꜣ* of the ser)vant in the place of truth, Pashed[2] (and) his son".

RR24 Avignon A16. Calvet Museum (acquired in 1833). Thebes west, Deir el-Medina[3].

Object: Limestone stela, 38 (h) x 27 (w) cm, outlined with rounded top in two registers. Damaged on the sides, but the figures and inscriptions are very clear. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Moret 1913 48-49 pl VI:5. *Literature*: Bonnet 1952 638 fig 150*; Fulco 1976 13 (E28); Fuscaldo 1972 117; Giveon 1980 146; Helck 1971 453 no 29; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 197-198 fig 30a*; Leclant 1960 26-27 fig 7; *PM* I/2 719; Müller 1893 311*; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 78:H*; Schulman 1979 no 1, n51, 1985 fig 16*; Stadelmann 1967 67; van Wijngaarden 1929 33 fig 21

1 Cf *RR24*, Bell (1985) and Fisher (in *LdÄ* II 82:E) for the symbolism involved. Such objects make the image of the god a *sšmw-ḫwj* = "protected image" (Bell 1985 37). The *šwt* or open fan (☥) is shown behind Tuthmosis IV on his chariot, protecting him in battle (Pritchard 1969b nos 314-316). A personified *ʿnḫ* holding a *šwt*-fan accompanies Tutʿankhamun on the hunt, as known from the beautiful fan from his tomb (Edwards 1977 110-111). Cf *fig 19* below.

2 Cf *RR26* below.

3 So according to the inscription "in the place of truth". *PM* I/2 719 add that it is probably from Theban tomb 328. Schulman (1979 n51) rejects this possibility.

(right); Wilkinson[1] 1878 III pl LV:4[2].

Description: Upper register: The figure is sitting on a typical Egyptian *ḥwt*-throne[3], facing the right, feet together on a double base-line. It wears the white crown of Egypt with two streamers attached to the crown with a knot at the back. They dangle from the crown behind the raised right arm. The crown is decorated with the head of a gazelle. The figure with an Egyptian beard is brandishing a mace-axe in the right hand. The weapon passes behind the crown. The other hand holds a large rectangular shield with rounded top. It is viewed with rim and handle. Above is a metal disk which provided further protection, as already encountered on *RR19* above. The figure is clothed in a short, knee-length kilt with a belt. It wears a very broad collar around the neck. In front hangs an animal-tail (bull). Behind the figure is the personified *ʿnḫ* with arms holding a *ẖw*-fan as on the previous item. In front is an offering-stand with a lotus bud and lotus flowers. A worshipper faces the figure, with the right hand holding an incense burner and the other hand in a gesture of praise. Inscriptions occur above the figures and behind the worshipper. Lower register: Five figures (a man, two women, another man and a child) are facing to the left with the left hands of the first three in a gesture of praise, respectively holding an incense burner, a bottle and a flask (the third one holds it below the waist, while the other two are holding it in front of their faces). The fourth figure carries a duck and lotus stem over the shoulder, followed by a boy with a similar lotus stem. Inscriptions are visible all around the figures.

Identification: According to the inscription the sitting figure can be identified as Reshef. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ʿꜣ jrj.n sḏm ʿš m st mꜣʿt ḥ3j mꜣʿ-ḫrw mꜣʿ-ḫrw ḫr nṯr ʿꜣ jrj.n sꜣ.f sḏm ʿš m st mꜣʿt mꜣʿ-ḫrw ptḥms nbt pr PN nbt pr PN sꜣ.f PN* = "Reshef, the great god, made by the servant in the place of truth, Haj, the justified, justified before the great god (Reshef). Dedicated by his son, servant in the place of truth, the justified Petekhemes. The lady of the house PN, the lady of the house PN, his son PN".

---

1 Wilkinson is the source for the Reshef stela of van Wijngaarden. This is definitely the Avignon stela and no other item. Stadelmann still distinguishes between Wilkinson and Avignon, and wrongly adds BM 263 (*RR17*) to the sitting group. Cf also Schulman (1979 n52) and Spalinger (1978 516).

2 He adds decorations on the collar and arms which cannot be seen on the original. This is followed by van Wijngaarden. Cf also on Wilkinson's tendency to add elements under *RR18* above.

3 It appears with a covering as on the previous item.

RR25 Deir el-Medina 3. Antiquities service magazines in Deir el-Medina. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina (*PM* I/2 727: miscellaneous objects).

Object: Damaged limestone stela, 35 (h) x 40 (w) x 6,5 (t) cm, outlined with rounded top, upper left side and lower right sides missing. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Bruyère 1952 115-116 fig 196 (no 272). *Literature*: Giveon 1980 149; *PM* I/2 727; Schulman 1979 no 33, 1985 96, n36 fig 17*; Wild 1979 II pl 34*[1].

Description: Only the remains of the two legs of a sitting figure facing right, the hand with shield and spear are visible. The figure is sitting with legs together on a throne on a double base-line as on *RR23-24*. It is dressed in a knee-length kilt and holds a spear and shield. The shaft of the spear rests on the ground[2]. The shield is shown as the rectangular type, presumably with rounded top. On the right is a table with various offerings. On the top is a long inscription[3].

Identification: The scene is typical of *RR23* and *24*. It may depict Reshef in a sitting position. The shield with spear is typical of this god[4]. [shield/spear]

Inscription: (...?) *n jst m st mꜣꜥt ḥr jmntt wꜣst nb-nfr mꜣꜥ-ḫrw sꜣ n jst nfr-ḥtp mꜣꜥ-ḫrw nb jmꜣḫ* = "... of the crew in the place of truth in the west of Thebes, Neb-Nefer, the justified, the son of the crew, the justified Nefer-Khetep, the master of reverence".

RR26 BM 264. British Museum, London (ex-collection Belmore 1843). Thebes west, Deir el-Medina.

Object: Limestone stela, 29 (h) x 29 (w) cm in two registers, with upper part missing, outlined. *Date*: 19th dynasty (1300-1200).

Published: Hall 1925 12 pl 41:2 no 264. *Literature*: Budge 1909 239; Fulco 1976 8 (E17); Fuscaldo 1972 117; Giveon 1980 146; Hall 1930 360; Helck 1971 451 no 2; *PM* I/2 732; Sadek 1988 155-56; Schulman 1979 no 2, 1985 95-96 fig 15*; Stadelmann 1967 66; van Wijngaarden 1929 34.

---

1 He adds details in his drawing which are not on the photograph of the original. It seems as if Bruyère also adds a part on the upper left which is not on the original (lost?).

2 On the previous two stelae (*RR23* and *24*) there is a personified *ꜥnḫ* with arms holding a *ḫw*-fan behind it. According to Schulman (1985 96) there is space enough for these symbols. Wild adds these in his reconstruction.

3 Is it possible that there were worshippers below the line as on the stelae *RR24-25, 27*?

4 Giveon reads "Reshef" in the inscription, but this is not clear on the original.

Description: Upper register: The figure on the upper register is nearly completely lost. Only the legs of the chair or throne, the legs of the figure which are held together and the lower part of the spear and the shield are visible. In front stands the lower part of an offering-table, with part of an inscription on the left. Lower register: A kneeling figure on the right faces left with its hands in a gesture of praise. There is a long inscription.

Identification: The figure in the upper register can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription and when compared with the stelae *RR23-25*. [inscription]

Inscription: *rdjt jꜣw n ršpw snq jdb n nṯr ʾꜣ dj.f ʿnḫ wḏꜣ snb spd-ḥr ḥsw mrt ʿḥʿw rʿ ḥr šms kꜣ.f jw rꜣ.j mḥ m rʿ-nb r pḥ jꜣw m ḥswt.f n kꜣ n sḏm ʿš m st mꜣʿt jmntt wꜣst pꜣ-šd mꜣʿ-ḫrw* = "Giving praise to Reshef and making obeisance to the great god. May he give life, prosperity, and health, sharpness of face, praise and love the lifetime of Reʿ, while following his kꜣ. May my mouth be filled daily until the attaining of old age in his praises for the *kꜣ* of the servant in the place of truth in the west of Thebes, Pashed,[1] the justified".

RR27 Tushka. In situ. Nubia: Tushka, Gebel Agg rock shrine.

Object: Smooth panel of natural rock with well-carved relief, 115 cm (l) x 42 cm (w). *Date*: Probably 18th dynasty(?) (c 1500-1300).

Published: Weigall 1907 124-125 pl LXVI (lower). *Literature*: Fulco 1976 5 (E8); Grsdeloff 1942 11-15; Helck 1971 452 no 9; Leibovitch 1939 156-157 pl XIX:2; *PM* VII 94; Schulman 1979 no 4; Simpson 1963 36-38 pl XX (f) fig 32* and in *LdÄ* V 1986 638; Stadelmann 1967 60; Trigger 1976 117, 208, pl 55.

Description: A procession of five standing Nubian offering-bearers[2] is in front of a god, a deified king and another god. The last three figures are identified by the inscriptions as: (i) Horus, lord of Miam, (ii) the deified Sesostris (Senwosret) III and (iii) Reshef. On the far right a figure sits on a throne. It faces to the left, brandishing a mace-axe[3] above the head (in the left hand) and holding a shield. The shield with a square base and rounded top is shown from the side. On the head is the white crown. The figure has an Egyptian beard and is dressed in a long garment. There is an inscription above the figure. The third worshipper is offering a gazelle.[4]

---

1 Cf *RR23* above.

2 For their names and origin, see Trigger (1976 117, 208).

3 Simpson (1963 37) has "spear", but this is rather a mace, as Weigall (1907 125) has it.

4 This need not be directly connected with Reshef, as done by Fulco, as the animal is typical of the desert regions around Tushka (Weigall 125).

Identification: The figure on the right can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription and the weapons. The long garment is, however, uncommon for Reshef. [inscription]
Inscription: *ršp*[1] *nṯr ˁȝ nb pt* ="Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky."

Synthesis

Because of the quantity and quality of the items discussed under this section, conclusions on most of the attributes could quite easily be made. There are, however, some attributes which are not always very clear, not because they are not represented or schematized (as is the case with the seals), but because of damage to the stelae.

As far as the *origin* is concerned, it is remarkable that all items come from Egypt and Nubia. No relief depicting Reshef from outside of Egypt has been identified. The sources hail from el-Simbillawein in the Delta (*RR1*) to Tushka in Nubia in the south (*RR27*). Two items are known to have originated from Qantir (earlier Hurbeit): *RR2* and possibly *RR3*. Stelae also come from Athribis (*RR7*) and Abydos (*RR13*). The three locations which have produced the most items are: (i) Zaqaziq (*RR4-6*), (ii) Memphis or Mit-Rahina (*RR9-12* and perhaps also *RR8*) and (iii) Deir el-Medina (the largest number). Although the origin of some of the items is not known, this can be reconstructed from the typical Deir el-Medina formulae[2] and personal names in the inscriptions.

The *Sitz im Leben* of some of the items can also be indicated. It shows where the stelae functioned and for what purpose they were used. From the temple of Ptah (ie cultic) at Memphis come *RR9-10* and from the palace of Merenptah (ie royal), *RR12* and perhaps *RR11*. The size of *RR12* is larger and indicates that this item had a more official function. The famous *RR7* may have played a cultic role, as the inscription indicates that it was made by a priest. Also cultic is *RR27*, which comes from a Nubian rock shrine. Of a more private nature are

1 On this uncommon writing of the name cf Grdseloff who reads Ershop, also Simpson (1960 70, 1963 37); Helck (1962 485-489); Fulco and Stadelmann.

2 However, cf Schulman (1979 83n51) who offers criticism.

the Deir el-Medina votive stelae. These come from a labour colony, one even coming from a private house (*RR14*; cf *PM* I/2 705). The amulet-stela (*RR15*) also had a more private function. The Qantir items (*RR2-3*) on the other hand, may have been used by soldiers, although this might not be true of all of the items (cf Habachi 1954 545ff).

The items discussed usually *date* from the 19th dynasty (c 1300-1190) of Egypt. Some items come from both the 19th and 20th (c 1190-1070) dynasties[1].

The *medium* type is the relief. All items are stelae, except the stela-amulet, *RR15*, and *RR27* which is cut into the rock cliffs. The *material* of which the stelae are made, is the typical limestone. *RR6* is made of faience. The stelae are mostly round-topped (*1-3, 5, 7-8, 11-15, 17-19, 21-24*), where the upper part has survived (broken away on *RR4, 6, 9-10, 16, 20, 25-26*). *RR19* can be reconstructed from two parts in two different museums and *RR6* from four parts. While some stelae are excellently executed (*RR7*), other are very crude (*RR4*). One example is severely damaged (*RR12*), while another even shows the remains of ancient repairs (*RR17*). Some are painted (*RR14*) and one (eg *RR1*) shows the remains of paint. The size of the stelae differs - from the largest, being 67 x 43 cm (*RR12*), to the smallest, being c 10 x 8 cm (*RR6*).[2] Some of the stelae have two registers: *RR1, 12, 23-24, 26*.

RR1-22 show the god as a standing figure and *RR23-27* show him in a sitting position. This means that in the majority of cases, Reshef is shown *standing*, in most of the cases on a base-line. Twice the figure is on what looks like a pedestal (*RR8* and *15*). The figure (standing and sitting) usually faces right, except for *RR4-5* and *RR27*, where the figure faces left . The god Reshef is sometimes shown in the company of other gods[3]: Ptah and Horus (*RR1*) and Horus and a deified pharaoh (*RR27*).

As the stelae had some function in the private cult, worshippers and offerings are also shown. Worshippers and offering tables appear on

1 A few examples may come from the 18th dynasty (c 1500-1300), namely *RR11* (if de Meulenaere 1955 is followed), *21* and perhaps *27*.

2 Excluding the amulet *RR15*.

3 Cf also the Bubastis piece mentioned below.

RR1, 10-12, 23-24, and only offering tables on *RR6, 14, 15, 17, 19, 22, 25*. The worshippers have their hands in a gesture of praise (*RR3, 8, 10, 12, 23-24, 26*). They are either standing (𓀁) as in most of the cases, or kneeling in a gesture of adoration and praise (𓀢) as on *RR10, 12, 23* and *26*. They may hold flowers (*RR3*), or incense burners[1], either with flames (𓊮) as on *RR4*, or without flames (*RR5*). Worshippers are pouring out an offering or offering a variety of objects as on *RR24*. There are no examples where the *king* is shown. *RR27* is of a different nature, as it does not show the king as worshipper (cf *RR36* below), but in the procession of deities. On *RR1* the god Reshef is depicted in the presence of the god Ptah (𓁰) and the Horus-falcon with sun-disk on his head (𓅃). The god sits in the company of the god Horus and the deified pharaoh on *RR27*.

This type shows the greatest amount of *inscribed* material, the minority (*RR1, 4, 6, 9, 13-16, 22*) being without inscriptions. Fourteen items identify the figure as Reshef (*RR2, 7-8, 10-12, 17-19, 21, 23-24, 26-27*)[2]. The inscriptions also contain his titles and epithets, whereas many others include very interesting personal names (some foreign) and titles of people.

The act or gesture performed by the raised hand or weapon in a menacing way, is more than only a "smiting" act. There are substantial reasons to argue that the term "smiting god" (Collon 1972) is inappropriate to describe the gesture involved (cf for detailed discussion *4.1*). *RR4* shows the god with an unclear weapon or only a raised hand, but *RR5* shows clearly (only) a raised hand with a clenched fist. The god holds a raised hand or usually a weapon threateningly above his head. When he faces right, the weapon is in the right hand or the right hand is raised.

The figure usually wears the white crown of Upper Egypt (𓋑). Although this is Egyptian, the streamer attached to the crown indicates that a foreign god is represented. The streamer is extremely long as on *RR7*, or very short as on *RR20*. It was attached to the tip of the crown

---

1 Cf Keel (1975).

2 Other possibilities may be *RR20* and *RR25*, but they are unfortunately damaged on the spot where the name would have stood.

(*RR3, 7, 21*) or wrapped around it (*RR2, 8, 12, 17, 20, 23-24*). In some cases the knot at the back is also visible (*RR17, 20, 23-24*). In most cases it appears as if the figure has two streamers. On *RR21* the streamer is depicted as single, on *RR9* it is unclear and on *RR21* it looks as if it ends in a flower. In some cases, a gazelle head (an important symbol of Reshef) is attached to the crown. However, the significance of this symbol should not be exaggerated. Nevertheless, in unclear cases this can be quite handy in identifying the god as Reshef. This symbol should always be studied together with his other iconographic attributes and it should be kept in mind that other gods are also depicted with it (such as Keserty and Shed)[1]. In many cases, the gazelle symbol cannot be clearly identified, but he has this symbol on *RR12*(?), *18* (if Wilkinson can be trusted) and *19*. The best examples are *RR7* and *24*.[2] Strangely enough, the typical symbol of Egyptian gods and kings, the uraeus (𓆗)[3], only occurs once (*RR10*). In the majority of cases, Reshef has the gazelle head and not the uraeus. *RR12* shows the double crown (𓋖) of Egypt, a combination of the white crown and the red crown.

The *beard* worn by Reshef is in most cases, where this can be identified, the longer Egyptian Osiris-type false beard (*RR10, 13, 17-19, 21-22, 24, 27*). Also depicted is the thicker curved "Asiatic" type of beard (*RR7*).

In contrast to the uncertainty that sometimes exist with the beard and symbol on the front of the crown, the *clothing* of Reshef is quite clear. This is even true as far as detail is concerned. He is usually dressed in the short, knee-length kilt, with the only exception of *RR27*, where he wears an ankle-length garment. The kilt is wrapped around his waist and fastened with a belt. The belt is also used to attach the sword (*RR6*) to or even the lute (*RR10*). The kilt could have a folded-over flap, with (*RR5*) or without (*RR4, 8, 14-16, 18, 21-25*) decoration. Quite interesting is the detail visible on *RR17,* showing a belt with four bands

1 Cf Leibovitch (1948).

2 New may be the interpretation of *RR19* and excluding *RR10* (contra Vincent) and *14* (contra Schulman).

3 Cf now Johnson (1990).

hanging down. In some cases the knot with which the kilt is fastened, is seen in front: *RR6, 18, 22*. The bull's tail[1], which is worn by Egyptian gods and kings, is visible. It hangs behind the back of the standing figure (*RR10-11*), or in front of the sitting figure (*RR24*). More Western Asiatic or Canaanite are the tassels[2] attached to the garment below and on the waist. Tassels are known from depictions of Western Asiatics in Egyptian representations (cf also under Baᶜal). These are never shown on the sitting figures. On the standing figure, tassels are shown between the legs - three (*RR3, 4, 7 , 9*) or a single one (*RR6*). Tassels are seen on the sides in double pairs (*RR7, 9*) and single pairs (*RR8*). Single ones are on the sides and between the legs (*RR17*). There may even be two tassels on the belt on the right-hand side (*RR9*). These tassels end in flowers, as is clearly seen on *RR7-9* and *17*. Those on *RR4* are more like cords, as is the single one on *RR6*.

Other *accessories* may have been collars (𓋒) and bangles, but these are not always clearly depicted. On *RR5* there is a pectoral or cylinder seal (?) hanging on a string around the neck, and other items show a collar. The Wilkinson stela (*RR18*) shows a pectoral, but this may not be original. *RR7* depicts the figure with bands across the chest. These serve the following purposes: to carry weapons (eg *RR20*), to identify warriors, or to keep up the garment. There is no religious symbolism involved (Pope 1970 contra Mesnil du Buisson 1947). *RR21* depicts a corselet.

The *weapon* that the god brandishes above his head has been described as a battle-axe, mace, mace-axe and a hand-weapon. The fenestrated battle-axe is very clear on *RR7*. The simpler mace-axe is on *RR3, 11, 14-15, 17-18, 21-22, 24, 27*. There is a pear-shaped mace (𓌉 = *ḥḏ*) on *RR10, 23* and *RR19*. The "hand-weapon" (*RR1-2, 8, 12, 13*) refers to weapons which cannot clearly be identified, as they have no clear mace-head or blade and cannot be described as a mace or mace-axe. But it can neither be a spear, javelin or a sword. In the majority of

1 Not a lion's tail as Schulman (1979 72) has it!

2 Cf Bertman (1961) and Pritchard (1969b nos 6-7).

cases, Reshef is shown brandishing some mace or axe-type of weapon, but never with a clearly identifiable spear or sword. The only case where a sword is shown is on *RR6*. The most common weapon of Reshef is the shield and spear held together. These are shown both with the standing figure (*RR2-3, 7-9, 12-13, 15-19*) and with the sitting figure (*RR25-RR26*). Also known are figures holding a shield without a spear (*RR1, 4-5, 10, 11, 14, 21, 24, 27*). The shield is held in front, with the spear resting on the ground. The shield can also be depicted in an elevated position to make room for an offering table, as on *RR14* (but not *RR15*). The shield is either shown fully with the rectangular form and rounded top (*RR1, 3, 7, 9* [also rounded below], *11-12, 14-19, 22-25*), or oblong from the side (*RR2, 4-5, 8, 10, 13, 21, 27*). When seen from the side, the curve is usually towards the figure. *RR8* is an exception to the rule. Shields can either be extremely small as on *RR1, 11, 13* and *15*, or quite large as on *RR23*. Protective disks are seen on *RR19* and *24*, the rim on *RR7* and *24*, and handles on *RR19, 23-24*. Very interesting are the so-called Zaqaziq shields (*RR4-5*) as shown by Schulman (1984b 859-860). These are curved to the inside to provide even better protection. *RR5* depicts the wickerwork and bands. This is no bowcase. Although Reshef is shown with a quiver on his back (*RR1, 9*(?), *17-18* [also with arrows in it] and *RR20*), he is never shown with a bow, nor does he use it in the attacking position as is known of Apollo (Keel 1980b fig 303). Items from the later period do depict Reshef with a bow (eg *fig 3* and *pl C*).

In addition, Reshef is shown with what Simpson calls "miscellaneous objects" (1951-1952 186). This object is carried over the upper arm. It is shown with cords and tassels (*RR20*). In other cases it is shown suspended over the middle arm (*RR7*), also with tassels attached to it. It is stuck through the belt (*RR10*) with tassels attached to it. Or it stands freely in the field, again with the typical tassels attached to it (*RR2-3*). The example on *RR7* is small when compared to the other examples. This object has been identified as a weapon (Gressmann[1], Helck, Stadelmann and Schulman). With Fulco

[1] Gressmann even compares it with the weapon used by the Cossacks (1927 100).

it is argued that it can only be a musical instrument (also accepted by Giveon). Anyone familiar with Near Eastern lutes would know that the object can only be a lute or some musical instrument.[1] On Egyptian paintings there are beautiful depictions of musicians. Some play on a lute decorated with tassels, comparable to the tassels on our examples (cf Manniche 1991 figs 2, 21, 25 [= *fig 2*], 29). Examples from Western Asia are known (*RlA* VI 516 fig 3). From Anatolia there are depictions of the *saz* (Özgüç 1988 97 fig 64:55), a musical instrument with a long neck and a small round body. There it is used as an instrument in the temple cult, but also for daily entertainment. Perhaps the ones standing behind the god had some function in his cult (*RR2-3*). Reshef carries them on *RR7, 10* and *20*. Was the god Reshef a musician himself?

Other objects that occur on the material discussed, are the sun-shade (𓋺) (*RR11* and *21*) and the lotus (𓆸) (*RR12, 19, 22*), shown either on a pedestal or in a lily. On *RR23-24* and *27* (and it may be reconstructed on *RR25-26* too) the god sits on a high-backed or *ḥw*-throne. The object behind the figure on *RR9* is unidentifiable.

The god never holds any Egyptian signs (eg *ʿnḫ* = life), but on the examples of the sitting figure (*RR23-24*) there stands an anthropomorphic *ʿnḫ* holding a *ḫw*-fan (𓋻) behind him as symbol of protection. *RR13* shows the well-known Egyptian winged sun-disk ( ).

Finally, mention should be made of items which fall outside the period under discussion.

From the Bubastis temple of Nectanebos II[2] comes an in situ relief fragment from 360-343 BC (Naville 1891 57 pl XLV:A and Stadelmann 1967 75). The scene (*fig 3*) depicts a procession of gods in three registers. Shown third from the right on the top register is a figure striding right, standing on a base-line. It is dressed in a plain short kilt

---

1 Cf the literature cited in Özgüç (1988 97nn86-90)

2 Reshef is attested in the inscriptions from the reign of Nectanebos II, eg the Turin altar inscription (Simpson 1960 69, n1).

and holding a shield (shown fully as rectangular with rounded top) and what could be a bow[1]. The right hand is lifted above the head, but is broken off. The headdress consists of a long wig in Egyptian style. Stadelmann identifies the figure as Reshef "...auf Grund der typischen Haltung...." (cf 1967 47, 50f). The headdress is uncommon, but the pose is typical of Reshef. This is, however, the only example of a bow held with a shield in the relief medium. The bow is never shown with Reshef in the period under discussion.

It is thus seen that the motif of Reshef as a menacing god (with raised hand and weapon) was well-known in Egypt during the Ramesside period. This motif/type continued into the later periods in Egypt in some form. How widespread it was in Western Asia and Canaan itself, will only be seen when the seals are studied (*2.1.2.1*).

2.1.1.2 The standing god (RR28-RR34)

Introduction

This iconographic type is distinguished from the previous one inasmuch as the items discussed here represent the figure of Reshef not in his usual position with raised hand or brandished weapon, but with his weapons being held in reserve or, as in one exceptional case, even without weapons (*RR32*). The best-known items are the so-called "triad stelae" (*RR28-RR31*). These show the god Reshef in the company of the deities Qudshu and Min. The so-called triad stelae are first discussed (*RR28-31*), followed by stelae showing Reshef with other gods or worshippers (*RR32-34*).

Excluded in this corpus are the following triad stelae:

(i) *Cairo JE 45535, JE 26048* and *Copenhagen AEIN 313* which are included under items representing Baʿal (cf *BR14*, *BR15* and *BR16*),

---

1 For the pharaoh with these weapons, see the reliefs of Ramses III (Keel 1980b fig 245a).

(ii) Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts Moscow I.1.a.5613 (3177) from Deir el-Medina (Bogoslovsky 1972 and now Hodjash/Berlev 1982 134-135 no 75 =*fig 4*)[1].

The figure on the lion in the middle is typical of Qudshu. She is flanked by two figures who are totally different to the figures of Min and Reshef on the other triad stelae. The figure on the left cannot be Min. It wears a long garment, striding right. On the head is a feathered headdress. It has a beard. The figure on the right is striding left and is dressed in a long garment. It wears an Egyptian crown with uraeus. An erect penis is also visible (cf *BR15* below). Some scholars identify the figure on the right with the god Reshef. This seems unlikely (although he usually stands in this position - ie on the right). The penis makes such an identification less likely. Min is a possibility, but the figure and symbols are unlike the typical Min figures. The figure on the left has a headdress similar to that of Min and stands in the correct position (ie on the left), but the figure can rather be identified as Onuris[2] (Giveon, Couroyer). The figure on the left cannot be Reshef.

Not included in this catalogue are stelae which fall outside the time period of this study, such as the triad scene on a 25th dynasty relief from Karnak. This is discussed below under the *synthesis* to this section. Not much time needs to be devoted to the coffin fragment in Roanne (inventory no 164) published by Leibovitch (1942a 81-84 pl VIII; cf Schulman 1979 no 39). This has been shown to be a fake from the 19th century AD, made from a plate in Rifaud depicting the famous stela *Louvre C86* (here *RR29*).[3]

Another example of a god in a standing position, but brandishing no weapons, is a stela in the Fitzwilliam Museum Cambridge (E 9.1896 =

---

1 With a discussion in Couroyer (1978 151); Giveon (1980 149) and Grieshammer (1973); cf Schulman (1984a 74n10).

2 Pritchard (1969b no 573:20). Note that the foreign god Sopdu (Bonnet 1952 741 fig 178; Schumacher 1988) also wears a double-feathered crown.

3 Marc Gabolde (Lyon) supplied ample information in this regard.

fig 5)[1]. It comes from the 19th-20th dynasty Ramesseum (tomb 290) at Thebes. The identification is uncertain, although it may be an Asiatic god.

On the upper register are four deities. The two on the right are Isis and Min, the one on the far left is unidentifiable. The second figure on the left is dressed in a long garment with a flap and a belt, holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre in the left hand and an *ʿnḫ* in the other hand. *PM* identify the second figure as Reshef, but the garment is not typical (although it is Asiatic), nor is there any inscriptional evidence to substantiate this interpretation. The *ʿnḫ* and *wꜣs* are, however, comparable to *RR33*, where Reshef is identified by the accompanying inscription.

The first figure on the enigmatic and much discussed stela from Baluʿa (Keel 1980b fig 416 = *fig 6*)[2] with double Egyptian crown, *wꜣs*-sceptre and short kilt is connected with Reshef (?) by Conrad (1971 170-171; cf Alt 1953 208ff). It cannot be Reshef, as there are no specific attributes to make such an identification possible. The figure has also been connected with Baʿal (eg in Gray 1969 73), but this is uncertain too (cf *2.2.1.2*).

Catalogue

RR28 Turin 50066. Museo Egizio di Torino. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina.

Object: Stela of limestone, 45 (h) x 30 (w) cm with rounded top, outlined in two registers, break on left side. *Date*: 19th dynasty (Ramesses II = 1290-1224).

Published: Tosi/Roccati 1972 102-103, 224, 290 (pl). *Literature*: Boreux 1939 675 fig 3*; Brugsch 1968 V/VI 1434; Fulco 1976 16 (E36); Fuscaldo 1972 125-126 fig 2*; Giveon 1980 147; Helck 1971 453 no 28, 465 no 4; Keel 1984a 43-44 fig 6*, 1984b fig 22*, 1986a 148-149 fig 88a*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 197-198 fig 30c*; Lanzone 1884 IV 484 pl CLXXXXI; Leibovitch 1961 28 pl II:1; Müller 1893 315; *PM* I/2 733 (literature); Pritchard 1943 34 no 7, 1969a 250b, 1987 103:5 (colour); Schulman 1979 no 20; Stadelmann 1967 116, 119; Thompson 1970 148 n26; van Wijngaarden 1929 30.

Description: Upper register: A nude female stands with her feet apart en face on a lion striding to the right. She wears a Hathor-like headdress with sun-disk and cres-

---

1 Quibell (1898 16 pl XIII: 3-4f); Bruyère/Kuentz (1926 31-32 pl XI:2); *PM* I/2 682 plan XI; Giveon (1980 149).

2 *PM* VII 382 and now Staubli (1991 64-66 fig 52 [with literature]).

cent on her head and holds in her right and left hands respectively lotus flowers and a serpent. She is flanked by two male gods. The one on the right is standing on a double base-line; the one on the left is on a platform. The one on the left stands with the feet together, a feathered Amun headdress, a broad decorated collar, bands across his chest and an erect penis, holding a flail in his raised right hand[1]. Behind him are tree symbols[2]. The figure on the right is striding barefooted to the left. It wears the white crown, decorated with a gazelle head and with streamers wrapped around the crown with the knot at the back, which hang down onto the left shoulder. The figure also has an Egyptian beard and a broad elaborately decorated collar around the neck. The clothing consists of a short decorated knee-length kilt with belt, flap and a corselet. This is wrapped around the waist and fastened with straps over the shoulders. The figure holds a spear in front in the right hand while the left hand holds a mace-axe below the waist[3]. Inscriptions are above the figures. Lower register: There are two kneeling figures facing left. The woman (right) sits holding a jar in her left hand and her right hand is in a gesture of praise. The man has both his hands in this gesture. There are inscriptions around them.

Identification: According to the inscriptions the figures in the upper register can be identified as the gods Min, Qudshu and Reshef (on the right). The figure on the right has the typical iconographic attributes of Reshef: gazelle head on crown, spear, mace-axe (although this is not brandished), and streamers on crown. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ʿꜣ nb pt ḥqꜣ psḏt nb nḥḥ mnw-jmn-rʿ kꜣ-mwt.f nb pt qdš nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw jrt rʿ nn nw st* = "Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, master of the Ennead and lord of eternity. Min-Amun-Reʿ Kamutef, lord of the sky. Qudshu, lady of the sky, mistress of all the gods, the eye of Reʿ, without comparison".[4]

---

1 Cf Keel (1974 158).

2 Keel (1977b 281-284).

3 According to Schulman (1979 no 20) it is held in reserve as if it were a *ḫrp*-sceptre.

4 The inscriptions on the upper registers of *RR28-RR30* are read in the following order: right, left and middle.

RR29 Louvre C86 (N. 237). Musée National du Louvre, Paris. Thebes west, Deir el-Medina (Vandier).

Object: Rectangular limestone stela, 31,5 (h) cm with corniced top[1], sun-disk, two sided, recto in two registers with upper part in broad frame or niche, verso[2] in three registers. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Boreux 1932 479, 1939 673ff.

Literature: Brugsch 1968 V/VI 1434; Cook 1925 107 pl XXIV:3; Fulco 1976 15-16 (E34); Fuscaldo 1972 124; Gese 1970 143; Helck 1971 452 no 14, 465 no 3; Leibovitch 1942a 81 pl IX, 1961 27; Letellier 1975; Maier 1986 86-87; Müller 1893 314; Parrot 1957 67-69 fig 40*; Pietschmann 1889 150 (right)*; *PM* I/2 719-720 (literature); Pritchard 1943 33-34 no 5; 1969b 164, 304-305 no 474; de Rouge 1908 281-289; Schulman 1979 no 17; Stadelmann 1967 55, 120-122; Thompson 1970 148; Vandier 1954 II 505 fig 302; Welten in Galling 1977 112; van Wijngaarden 1929 31 fig 18.

Description: Recto upper register: Figures as on *RR28*. A nude female stands en face on a lion striding to the right. She wears a Hathor-like headdress with sun-disk and crescent on her head and holds in her right and left hands respectively lotus flowers and a serpent. She is flanked by two male gods. The one on the left stands with feet together on a platform or pedestal. The god wears a feathered headdress and has an erect penis. The figure on the right is striding to the left. It wears the white crown, decorated with a gazelle head and with streamers wrapped around the crown (with the knot at the back) which hang down onto the left shoulder. The figure also has an Egyptian beard and what looks like a broad elaborately decorated collar around the neck. The clothing consists of a short decorated knee-length kilt with folded-over flap and perhaps a corselet as on *RR28*. There is a spear in front in the right hand, while the other hand hangs down and holds an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥ = life). The inscriptions are above the figures and on the sides. Lower register: Two kneeling figures face each other with their hands in a gesture of praise. The inscriptions between them identify them. Verso (Boreux 1939 fig 1): On the back of the stela are the wife of the worshipper and his three daughters with the texts containing their prayers.

Identification: According to the inscriptions, the figures can be identified as Min, Qudshu and Reshef (on the right). With regard to Reshef the gazelle symbol, spear and streamer are also important. [inscription]

Inscription: *ršpw nṯr ʿȝ nb r nḥḥ ḥqȝ ḏt nb pḥtj m-ḫnw psḏt mnw-jmn-rʿ ʿȝ pḥtj ḥrj st.f wrt nṯr ʿȝ qdš nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw nbw* = "Reshef, the great god, lord of eternity, sovereign everlasting, mighty master amidst the divine Ennead. Min-Amun-

1 On this unique type of stela, see Stewart (1976 viii).

2 Not depicted, see Boreux (1939 fig 1).

Reᶜ, the great one in power on his throne, the great god. Qudshu, lady of the sky (and) mistress of all the gods".[1]

RR30 BM 191. British Museum, London. Presumably from Thebes west, Deir el-Medina.[2]

Object: Limestone stela, 75 (h) x 48 (w) cm with rounded top, outlined with two registers. Sides slightly damaged as are parts of the figures. The upper part projects and forms a clear outstanding frame which contrasts with the shallow-sunk relief below, which is not very clear, but nevertheless of a good quality. The lower register is in the form of a cavetto-corniche. There are remains of paint. The upper two figures are in low relief, while the centre figure is in high relief. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: James 1970 47-48 pls XXXIX:2, XXXIXA:2. *Literature*: Bonnet 1952 37 fig 14*; Boreux 1939 675-676 fig 4; Budge 1909 248 pl XL; Cook 1925 104, 114 pl XXIV:2; Dussaud 1949 51-52 fig 17*; Fulco 1976 17 (E38); Fuscaldo 1972 123; Gese 1970 143 fig 12*; Gilula 1974; Giveon 1980 147; Görg 1977 191 fig 2*, 1981 9-10 fig 3; Gray 1964 228-229 pl 20, 1969 74-75; Gressmann 1927 81-82 pl CXIV no 270; Helck 1971 452 no 12, 464 no 1; Hestrin 1987 68 fig 5, 1991 55; Lanzone 1884 IV 484f pl CCXXXXII[3]:1*; Leclant 1960 9; Leibovitch 1942a 84-85, 1961 23-24 pl I:1; Maier 1986 92; Mesnil du Buisson 1969 524 pl I; Meyer 1877 718-719; Müller 1893 311*, 313*, 314*; Parrot 1952 52 fig 10:b, 1957 68; *PM* I/2 723 (literature); Pritchard 1943 33 no 2, 1969a 250, 1969b 163, 304 no 473; Schulman 1979 no 18; Stadelmann 1967 95, 119; Thompson 1970 148; Vanel 1965 106 fig 55*; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:4*; de Vries 1975 137-138 fig 123; Weippert 1988 306-307, n12; Welten in Galling 1977 113; van Wijngaarden 1929 30-31 fig 17; Wilkinson[4] 1878 III pls LV:1-3*, LVI:1*; Winter 1987 110-111 fig 36.

---

1 For the inscription below and the prayers to Qudshu on the back of the stela, see Stadelmann (1967 120-122); English translation by Lambdin in Maier (1986 87).

2 Also Spalinger (1978 516).

3 Really pl CLXXXXII.

4 He does, however, clothe her in a tight garment which is very uncommon; also uncommon is the necklace when compared with other examples of Qudshu. On Wilkinson's tendency to add decorations, see *RR18* above. He left out the pedestal on which the figure on the left is standing, as well as the erect penis, but adds a bull's tail.

Description: Upper register: Figures as on *RR28*. A nude female stands en face[1] on a lion striding towards the right (partially destroyed). She holds in her right and left hands respectively a bunch of lotus flowers and two serpents. The female is flanked by two male gods, both standing on a pedestal-shaped shrine. The one on the left stands with the feet together, feathered headdress and erect penis. The figure on the right is striding to the left. The facial features, beard and hair are typically Asiatic, as are the band across the forehead with knot at the back and decorated with a gazelle head in front. The figure wears a broad, elaborately decorated collar around the neck. Clothing consists of a short knee-length kilt with folded-over flap, belt and a corselet and bangle around the upper right arm and left wrist. The figure holds a spear in front in the right hand, while the left hand hangs down and holds an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥) by its loop. There are inscriptions above the figures. Lower register: Three standing figures are facing an offering table on the right with a fowl, incense and loaves of bread. A man and woman stand with hands in a gesture of praise, followed by a boy with a lotus stalk and a fowl. To their right sits a warrior goddess on a high-backed throne, feet together, dressed in a tight ankle-length dress with an *ȝtf*-crown (𓋚). She brandishes a battle-axe above the head in the left hand and holds a shield and a spear in front. The shield is rectangular with rounded top and band. There are inscriptions around the figures which identify them.

Identification: The gods are respectively identified by the inscriptions as: Min, Qudshu, Reshef (right) and Anat (below right). The figure on the upper register on the right has the typical iconographic attributes of Reshef: gazelle symbol, spear and streamer. The hair and beard are decidedly un-Egyptian. [inscription]

Inscription: Upper register: *ršpw nṯr ʿȝ nb pt ḥq3 psḏt mnw wr qȝ šwtj.f ʿȝ ḥtp ḥr ḫt(jw) knt nbt pt* = "Reshef, the great god, lord of the sky, ruler of the divine Ennead. Min the great one, with his high feathers, great in sacrifice. Kenet (= Qudshu)[2], lady of the sky". Lower register right: *ʿntȝ nbt pt ḥnwt nṯrw sȝ ʿnḫ ḏd wȝs nb ḥȝ.s nb* = "Anat, lady of the sky, mistress of the gods. All protection, all life, all stability, all power are with her".

1 Her face is destroyed, but can be reconstructed from other examples. The reconstruction attempts of Wilkinson and those who followed him, however, are unacceptable. Lanzone's attempt at reconstruction is better.

2 Helck would see the name Qudshu written in ink, but this is not to be seen on the original (also James). Ken(e)t is a variant of the more common name Qudshu (Leibovitch 1961 23ff and also accepted by James 1970 47, n3).

RR31 BM 355. British Museum, London (ex Salt collection). Thebes west, Deir el-Medina[1].

Object: Limestone stela, 27 (h) x 18 (w) cm with rounded top, drawn (not carved), partly painted, text in black[2]. Stela with two registers, figures faded. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: James 1970 53-54 pls XLII:2, XLIIA:2. *Literature*: Boreux 1939 675; Budge 1909 248; Fulco 1976 16-17 (E37); Fuscaldo 1972 124; Giveon 1980 14; Helck 1966 n22, 1971 465 no 70; Leibovitch 1961 26-27; *PM* I/2 717; Pritchard 1943 34 no 8; Schulman 1979 no 19; Stadelmann 1967 119n1.

Description: Upper register: Although the figures are unclear, the stela shows the same figures encountered on *RR28-30*. The figures can, therefore, be identified as Qudshu on a lion, Min, and Reshef (especially analogous is *RR30*). The figure on the right is the same as the one on *RR30*. Although the headdress is unclear, it seems to be the Asiatic type. The figure holds a spear[3] in the right hand, but it is unclear if there is an *ʿnḫ*-symbol or a mace-axe (James 53) in his other hand. Lower register: The figures are not clear, but there are two kneeling worshippers: a man and a woman with their hands in a gesture of praise. The woman holds a flask. She is followed by a standing boy. There are also inscriptions.

Identification: The figures can be identified as Min, Qudshu and Reshef (right) according to the comparative iconography of these gods. The name Reshef is partly visible on the right. [inscription]

Inscription: The inscriptions are hardly legible, but on the right above the figure are traces of the name of Reshef: *(rš)pw nṯr ʿȝ nb pt* = "(Resh)ef, the great god, lord of the sky".

RR32 Cairo JE 86123. Egyptian Museum, Cairo?[4] Qantir? (Habachi 1954 519).

Object: Stela of limestone, 30 (h) x 20 (w) cm with rounded top in two registers, outlined, two scenes divided by double base-line, slightly damaged on the sides. *Date*: End 18th - beginning 19th dynasties (c 1320-1200).

Published: Leibovitch 1944b 163-172 pl XIV*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 9 (E19); Helck 1971 452 no 16; Lipiński 1979 259; de Meulenaere 1949 12; Schulman 1979 no 16; Stadelmann 1967 71-72.

---

1 See the inscription.

2 Cf James for the colours. The colours of the figure on the right may be noted: red flesh, white kilt, yellow flap with red "pleats", and belt and necklace black.

3 Schulman also proposes a *wȝs*-sceptre, but this is not known on the triad stelae, although it is on *RR32*.

4 Not found in the Cairo museum. May Trad wrote: “difficile à atteindre”.

Description: Upper register: There is an offering table with a large lotus flower and a jar. Two striding figures face left. They stand on a double base-line and are dressed in short kilts with flaps and belts. The first figure has a feathered crown with a streamer, Egyptian beard, collar, with bull's tail. It holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) in the right hand and an *ꜥnḫ* in the left hand. The second figure has the white Egyptian crown with a gazelle head in front, streamers hanging down behind, and an Egyptian beard. The figure holds the same symbols as the first figure. Inscriptions identify the figures as Amun-Reꜥ and Reshef. Lower register: A worshipper kneels facing right with hands in a gesture of praise. He faces a deity. The god wears the same clothing and symbols as the gods on the top register, but with the double crown of Egypt. An inscription above the god identifies him as Horon.

Identification: The figure on the upper right can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription, gazelle symbol and streamer (although there is no weapon but only a sceptre). The two other gods are Amun-Reꜥ and Horon. [inscription]

Inscription: *jmn-rꜥ njswt nṯrw ršpw ḥwrwn* = "Amun-Reꜥ, king of the gods. Reshef. Horon".

RR33 Philadelphia E. 13620. University Museum, Pennsylvania. Memphis (Mit Rahina), temple of Ptah (Clarence Fisher excavations find no 2775).

Object: Stela of creamy white limestone, 17 (h) x 22,8 (w) cm, in two registers with broken sides, missing upper left and lower right sides. There is a large break running from the upper left to the lower right sides and a large part is chipped away on the lower right side. *Date*: 19th-20th dynasties (c 1300-1100).

Published: Fulco 1976 15 (E30) pl II; Schulman 1981 160ff fig 2[1]. *Literature*: *PM* III/2/3 860.

Description: Upper register: A barefooted figure strides to the right on a base-line, which divides the stela in two registers. To the left is a lute[2], resting on the base-line with its base below and shaft pointing upwards. There are two cords with tassels hanging down. The figure has an Egyptian beard (crown not visible). It has a mace-axe in the right hand, held passively below the waist. In the left hand is a long spear (no shield), held with the shaft on the ground. The figure wears a decorated striped kilt with cords and tassels between the legs (two) and on the sides (three on the left, two on the right). There is a broad collar around the neck and a corselet across the chest. The corselet consists of four broad bands and two shoulder straps with three smaller bands which are fastened over the shoulders. To the right are three

---

1 This is an important revision.

2 Schulman has "mace". For interpretation of this object, see *synthesis* to *2.1.1.1*.

worshippers facing left. The first one holds with his left hand incense to the nose of the figure on the left; the other hand is pouring out a libation[1]. Behind is the figure's wife with lotus flowers and a boy with his left hand raised in a gesture of praise. Lower register: There are two offering stands with flaming incense, copper oxhide ingots and circular gold rings, and four worshippers (one man and three women) in Egyptian garb facing left. The first one holds flowers, with the left hand in an act of praise, while the women have their hands in the same gesture. There are inscription fragments above the figures on top and in front of the first and second figure below.

Identification: It is uncertain if the name "Reshef" can be read in front of the figure (see Fulco and Schulman). However, the lute, spear and mace-axe[2] indicate that this is Reshef. [lute]

Inscription: According to Fulco and Schulman, "Reshef" can be read in the inscriptions above the striding figure, but this is hardly legible. The other inscriptions contain the names of the worshippers.

RR34 Aswan 16. Aswan Museum?[3] Nubia, El-Sebuᶜa rock temple of Amun, built by Amenophis III, restored by Ramesses II.

Object: Stela of sandstone, with rounded top in two registers. *Date*: Ramesside (c 1290-1224).

Published: Firth 1927 235-237, 239 (centre)* plan XIV pl 3; Weigall 1907 97ff pl XLVIII. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 17-18 (E40); Grdseloff 1942 5; Habachi 1960 49-50 pl XVIII fig 4*; Helck 1971 451 no 8; Leibovitch 1939 155-156 pl XIX:1*; *PM* VII 64; Schulman 1979 no 15; Stadelmann 1967 58-60.

Description: Upper register: Two deities are sitting on high-backed thrones on a base-line facing each other. They are identified by their iconography and the accompanying inscriptions (above) as Amun and Seth. The god Amun wears the feathered crown and a collar. In his hands are the *wꜣs*-sceptre and the *ᶜnḫ*-symbol. Seth wears the double crown and holds the *wꜣs*-sceptre. Both gods are dressed in knee-length kilts with tails of bulls in front. Between them is an offering-table. Lower register: The figure left strides barefoot to the right on a base-line. It wears the white crown with streamers attached with a knot at the back. The figure has a beard of the Egyptian type and holds a spear with shield (viewed fully, rectangular with rounded

---

1 For the garb of the worshippers on both registers, cf discussion in Schulman (1981 162-163nn 26-27).

2 It is not brandished, but cf the inscribed *RR28* and *34* for the weapon in this position.

3 This item could not be found in Aswan when checked by H Jenni.

top) in the left hand. In the right hand is a mace-axe, held in reserve below the waist as on the seal *RM19*[1]. The figure wears a knee-length kilt with belt, decorated with tassels on the sides and middle. In front of the figure stands an offering-table and a worshipper with both hands in a gesture of praise. Above are five lines of inscription.

Identification: The figure on the lower register on the left can positively be identified as Reshef according to the inscription and the iconography: streamer, spear with shield and mace-axe. [inscription]

Inscription: *jmn-(rˁ) nb n pꜣ mṯnw stẖ ˁꜣ pḥtj nb pt ršpw mꜣtj-bˁr* = "Amun-(Reˁ), lord of the roads. Seth, great in power, lord of the sky. Reshef[2]. Matj-Baˁal[3].

Synthesis

As is the case with the items depicting the menacing god (*2.1.1.1*), the stelae described as representing the standing Reshef (*RR28-RR34*) are quite varied. Attention will first be devoted to items depicting him in the company of the deities Min and Qudshu (triad) and then to the other sources.

Three examples of excellent quality exist for the triad stelae (*RR28-RR30*) and one with unclear figures and inscriptions (*RR31*).

RR28-RR30 date from the 19th dynasty (c 1300-1190) and all come from Deir el-Medina. This in itself says something of the *Sitz im Leben*, namely that these items functioned in the private religion of the labourers (*3.1.2*).

The *medium* is in all cases the limestone stela. It is round-topped and in one case (*RR29*) rectangular with a corniched top with two sides (Boreux 1939). The largest stela is 75 cm high and the smallest 27 cm. *RR31* is not carved, but painted, which provides further information on the colour scheme used in representing Reshef: red body, white kilt; with yellow, red and black accessories. *RR30* shows remains of paint

---

1 Reminiscent of the hieroglyph [hieroglyph].

2 The worshipper stands in front of Reshef, with Amun and Seth on the upper register. Amun-Reˁ is depicted because the stela comes from his temple (Stadelmann). Stadelmann sees the figure of Seth as an indication that the worshipper formed part of the division of Seth.

3 On this PN written with the boomerang determinative for a foreigner (𓌙) and the determinative Seth animal (𓃩), see Habachi (1960 50n17).

as well. All the stelae have two registers. The upper part of *RR29* is set in a niche, the upper part of *RR30* projects forming a frame while the lower part forms a cavetto-corniche. On the last example the figures above are in higher relief than those below. The figure in the middle is again clearer than the two figures on the sides.

The figures of Min and Qudshu are very stereotyped and the detail will not be discussed here. Min stands left in his typical pose with his typical attributes: feathered headdress, flail, erect penis. The same is true of Qudshu in the centre, who stands naked on a lion holding flowers and serpents.

Because the items are votive stelae, there are *worshippers* on all the items on the lower register (and on *RR29* also on the verso side). They are shown kneeling (𓀃) with their hands in a gesture of praise (*RR28-29, RR31*) or standing (𓀢) (*RR30*). The last item is exceptional, as there is another deity on the second register, the warrior goddess Anat (cf *fig 14* below). The worshippers face right (*RR30*), each other (*RR29*) or left (*RR28, RR31*). There is an offering table on *RR30*.

The iconography of Reshef is more varied. In all the cases he is identified by the inscriptions, although *RR31* is somewhat unclear. Reshef always strides to the left, standing on a base-line or pedestal (*RR30*). His *headdress* is the white crown (𓋑), with a streamer wrapped around the lower part and hanging on his shoulder (*RR28-29*). On *RR30-31* he wears an Asiatic headdress consisting of a head band with knot at the back. On the previous two items he has an Egyptian *beard*, but on *RR31-32* the thicker, curved Asiatic beard. As is expected from the more Asiatic Reshef, he has the gazelle head on his headdress (*RR28-30, RR31*[?]), but never the uraeus.

The *clothes* are exceptionally well represented. In all cases the god wears a knee-length kilt with belt and decorated, folded-over flap, as well as a corselet with straps over his shoulders. On *RR28* he wears the broad, decorated collar (𓋙). The position of the *weapons* is totally different from the items discussed under *2.1.1.1*. They are not once brandished: the mace-axe is only held in reserve below his waist on *RR28*. There is no shield at all, but on all the items he holds the spear in front with his right hand. On *RR29-31* he holds an *ʿnḫ*-symbol in

his left hand hanging down. No other of the Reshef symbols or objects are shown.

All the examples are very clear, with the exception of *RR31*. There are two sub-types: one with more Asiatic attributes (*RR30*) and another with more Egyptian attributes (*RR28*).

The second corpus of stelae (*RR32-34*) represents Reshef without his weapons in the presence of other gods (*RR33*) or worshippers (*RR32, 34*).

The sources date from the 18th-20th dynasties and come from Qantir and Memphis and from el-Sebuʿa in Nubia (Sudan). Whereas *RR32* could have been devoted by private soldiers, the *Sitz im Leben* of *RR33-34* was certainly cultic, coming from the temples of Ptah and Amun.

The *medium* is the limestone, round-topped stela (*RR33* is broken) with two registers, showing worshippers standing below. The *worshippers* face the god from the right (*RR33-34*) or left (*RR32*). Offering-tables appear on all examples.

As on *RR1* there are other *gods* with Reshef: Amun (*RR32* and *34*), Seth (*RR34*) and Horon (*RR32* lower register). Inscriptions identify all these gods (with the name of Reshef somewhat uncertain on *RR33*). In addition, *RR34* contains the name of a foreigner with the name of the Canaanite Baʿal as theophoric element.

Reshef strides to the right (*RR33-34*) or left (*RR32*). His attributes differ. He holds a mace-axe below the waist on *RR33* and *RR34* (as on *RR29*). There are no weapons on *RR32*, but he holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre and an *ʿnḫ*-symbol. *RR33* shows him with a spear in front, but no shield. *RR34* shows the spear and rectangular shield held together.

Reshef wears the white crown (*RR33*?) with Egyptian beard and streamer. On *RR32* the gazelle head is visible, unclear on *RR33* and not visible on *RR34*. His dress is the knee-length kilt. It is shown with tassels on *RR33*, in pairs on the sides and also shown between his legs. Those on *RR34* are thicker (?) single ones on the sides and between his legs. *RR33* shows a kilt with a decorated, folded-over flap; a corselet as on the triad stelae (eg *RR28*), and a collar and bands over his shoulders.

The only other object shown is the *lute* on *RR33*. It stands behind the figure on the base-line - with its body facing downwards and decorated with tassels.

As far as the standing figure of Reshef is concerned, it is notable that no relief from Western Asia showing him in a standing position without weapons has been found. The figure on the left of the Baluᶜa stela (*fig 6*) has been eliminated as a representation of Reshef.

Other important items can be studied in comparison with the so-called triad stelae:

(i) From the temple of Mut at Karnak, crypt of Taharqa (c 700), comes an in situ relief (*fig 7*) depicting a rectangular pectoral in two registers (Mariette 1875 64 pl 43 [upper left] and Leclant 1961 234-235 pls LXVI, LXX)[1]. In the centre of the register is Qudshu, dressed in a long garment. She is not facing forward, but faces left and holds the serpents in her right hand and a single flower in her left. The lions are on the register below and do not serve as her pedestal as on *RR28*ff. She is flanked by two figures standing on a base-line. The one on the left faces right, dressed in a knee-length kilt, with collar and belt. On its head is an Egyptian crown with streamers wrapped around it. The figure holds a rectangular *shield* with rounded top. There is a mace-axe below the waist.[2] The mace-axe is known from *RR28*, but this is the only case of a shield on the so-called triad material. The figure on the right has a long garment and feathered headdress and holds the hands in a gesture of praise (?)[3]. The figures can be identified as:

---

1 For these figures on an amulet, cf *RM20*. It is discussed by Fulco (1976 20 [E48]); Giveon (1980 147); Leibovitch (1942a 80, 85, 1961 25-26 fig 1); *PM* II 258 plan 1 and pls Iff, especially XXIV-XXV; Quaegebeur (1989 71-72 fig 18); Schulman (1979 no 40); Simpson (1960 68-69); Stadelmann (1967 123) and van Wijngaarden (1929 34).

2 This cannot be "a spear with a curved end" (Simpson), for a spear is never shown in this way. It is definitely a mace (cf *RR28*! and also Giveon). Simpson is also wrong about the lion and the objects held by Qudshu.

3 Could it be a worshipper in this position?

Reshef, Qudshu and Onuris (also Leibovitch and Schulman)[1] according to their comparative iconography.

(ii) Very important for this study is Vienna 1012 (*pl A*), a stela with rounded top and a small chip above. It is 8,35 x 6,45 x 1,5 cm and comes from c 1300-1200 (von Bergmann 1886 190-191)[2]. It shows a naked goddess in the middle standing on a lion striding to the right, hands spread, but empty. To her left is a god with an erect penis and feathered headdress who stands on a pedestal. There is an inscription above. Although no figure is visible on the right, the inscriptions identify the figures respectively as Min, Qudshu and Reshef. Von Bergmann adds a figure drawn in black ink (not engraved) and Vincent (1928 pl XXV:5) makes this a Reshef-type figure on one of his illustrations. A study of a photograph of the original has revealed that there is no figure on the right of the stela under discussion. It does not seem probable that the figure has eroded completely[3]. This may be a case of an *aniconic* Reshef stela!

(iii) From the western desert El-Kharga oasis, temple of Hibis, comes a relief (27th dynasty = c 500) depicting a procession of gods[4]. Shown here (*fig 8*) behind the goddess with a bow and arrow (identified as Astarte by the inscription, cf *fig 11* below), is a god

---

1 Cf Helck (in Haussig 1965 382) and Pritchard (1969b no 573:20).

2 Studied by Boreux (1939 674 fig 2); Fulco (1976 16 [E35]); Fuscaldo (1972 123); Leibovitch (1961 27-28).

3 It could also be incomplete (Stadelmann). This interpretation is supported by the fact that Qudshu is with empty hands, ie the image is incomplete.

4 Published by Davies (1953 III 6 pl III register III:11). Cf Simpson (1960 69 pl XVIII:2); Leclant (1960 49ff pl III:B fig 27) and now Cruz-Uribe (1988 11). Cruz-Uribe also seems to connect the two figures on pl IV registers VII-VIII with Reshef (35 no 11, 36 no 6), but there is nothing to substantiate this. The first figure is quite interesting because it wears the double crown of Egypt and holds serpents (like Qudshu) and seems to be some non-Egyptian god. The second figure with the feathered crown grabs an enemy by the hair and holds a large knife, as on register III.

striding to the right. He is holding two large knives[1] and his arms are hanging down. The god wears the white crown with a large gazelle head and is dressed in a short decorated kilt with a sash. The inscription identifies the figure as Reshef.

(iv) In the Karnak temple of Monthu is a relief (*fig 9*[2]) from the reign of Ptolemy III (246-221) (Lepsius IV vol IX pl 11a)[3], showing a Ptolemaic king on the right binding a captive. He is faced by a god on the left who faces right, standing barefoot on a base-line. The god wears the white crown, Egyptian beard and short undecorated kilt with belt. In his left hand he holds a staff and in his right hand, held out before him, a ceremonial mace. The iconography is unlike that of Reshef. The inscription[4] mentions "Reshef", but this does not necessarily identify the figure clearly.

2.1.1.3 The riding/driving god (RR35-RR38)

Introduction

So far, items depicting the god Reshef have been discussed, showing him in:

(i) a standing or sitting pose brandishing his weapons (*2.1.1.1*) and

(ii) with his weapons held peacefully below his waist (*2.1.1.2*).

There are a few depictions which show him in a sitting position on horseback or driving a chariot. Although all four examples in the relief medium are broken, two of these contain inscriptions (one example on

---

1 This is unique to Reshef, but in the later periods many divine attributes were mixed, so everything was possible (cf previous note).

2 S Aufrère (Montpellier) kindly supplied me with a drawing which is published here.

3 Discussed by Fulco (1976 21 [E51]); Leibovitch (1939 157-158 pl XX); Simpson (1960 73n1); *PM* II/3 plans 1 and Iff and Schulman (1979 83n50).

4 *ḏd-mdw jn mnw sm3 ḫftjw ršp ḥrj-jb pr mnṯw....* = "Recitation by Min, the one who slaughters the enemies, the Reshef who is in the House of Monthu....".

horseback *RR38* and one example in a chariot *RR37*), mentioning Reshef by name. These are fragmentary and do not not clearly identify the figures. However, they cannot be ignored. Helck (1971 450-451) is positive in identifying the figure as Reshef[1], as are Simpson (1960 73), Stadelmann (1967 57-58) and Fuscaldo (1976 130). Fulco (1976 E4, E11-12) is uncertain in identifying the figure.

Leclant (1960) studies some of these reliefs in his important study on Astarte. He takes them as representations of Astarte on horseback. In one of his many important articles on the god Reshef, Schulman (1977)[2] deals with sources pertaining to Reshef on horseback. He rather identifies this figure as the riding goddess, admitting that Reshef might have ridden a chariot (*RR37*). Schulman is followed by Spalinger (1978 516).

The winged Baʿal-Seth is also depicted on horseback in the scarab medium, as discussed under *2.2.2.4*. However, in these cases the wings help in making a decision in favour of *Baʿal.*

The main problem is thus whether the figure is Astarte or Reshef, since both deities are connected with horses. Fulco (1976 6) suggests an identification with Anat. Only a study of the comparative iconography of Reshef and the deities Anat and Astarte can help in this decision. It will show that Reshef is indeed shown riding. In order to get clarity on this matter, the iconography of Astarte and Anat should first be reviewed.

Excursus: The iconography of Astarte and Anat

The relationship of *Astarte* to horses and chariots is well-known from Egyptian inscriptions (Bonnet 1952 56b; Stadelmann 1967 102ff) and from the Ugaritic texts (*KTU* 1.86:6: *śśw ʿṯtrt*). The relationship is also known from iconography. Leclant studies this in detail (1960; cf Mesnil du Buisson 1969). He devotes attention to the reliefs, ostraca

1 He also (451n38a) connects the rider on the BM axe 36766 (Leclant 1960 35-37 figs 12-14) with Reshef, but there are no attributes to substantiate this interpretation (also Schulman 1977 16n16). The figure is not holding a shield (as in Kühnert-Eggebrecht 1969 83).

2 Cf his earlier study (1957) on horses in Egypt.

and seals. For the sake of this study, it would suffice to start with the *inscribed* items which identify the figure as Astarte:

(i) The first example of the horse-riding Astarte is on a relief (Leclant 31ff with pl IIA-B and fig 11 = *fig 10;* cf Mesnil du Buisson 1969 530-531; Stadelmann 1967 99ff) from Wadi ʿAbbad from the 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200). It depicts a riding goddess with *ȝtf*-crown ( ) and streamer with a shield in her left hand (alone), waving it wildly above her head. In her other hand is a hand-weapon. The inscription identifies her as *ʿȝsjt,* which is a defective spelling of the name "Astarte"[1].

(ii) From the Persian period comes a relief from the oasis of El Kharge (north wall of the cella) (= *fig 11*[2]). It depicts a figure on a horse, wearing the white crown and holding weapons. The inscription identifies the figure as "Astarte" (*ʿsṯ*(*r*)*t*).

(iii) Also from the late period (Ptolemaic) comes an inscribed relief (Leclant 1960 54ff pl IV = *fig 12*; cf Mesnil du Buisson 1969 528 and Stadelmann 1967 104) from the temple of Horus. It depicts a lion-headed goddess standing on a small horse-drawn chariot. The inscription identifies the figure as: "Astarte (*ʿsṯrdt*), mistress of horses and the lady of the chariot[3]", shown here in the likeness of Sakhmet.[4]

---

1 Mercer (1935 196) interprets the inscription as meaning "Asit" and sees no relationship whatsoever with Astarte. The name is most likely only a defective writing of "Astarte" (Leclant 1960 34 and Stadelmann 1967:100). On the Hibis relief (*fig 11*) "Astarte" is also written without ; *ʿsṯt* for *ʿsṯ*(*r*)*t*.

2 Cruz-Uribe (1988 11); Davies (1953 6 pl III register III:11); cf Leclant (1960 49ff pl III:B fig 27) and Stadelmann (1967 109).

3 Roman period coins from Sidon depict the wagon of Astarte (Gressmann 1927 no 359).

4 A Turin stela (Turin 50068 = Tosi/Roccati 1972 104; Leclant 1960 23ff pl IA) depicts a goddess on horseback with a bow, but the reading of the name is uncertain. Sadek (1988 156n6) reads Ashtar (Astarte). Pope has "Astarte, lady of battle, goddess of the Asians" (in Haussig 1965 251). Note that the fan behind the figure ( ) is also found on the scarab SK 95 discussed below (*fig 19*).

(iv) Astarte is once shown with a curved shield and spear (?) on the stela fragment UC 14392 (Leclant 1960 10ff fig 1; Stadelmann 1967 104; Stewart 1976 50 pl 41:2 =*fig 13*). Here she is not on a horse, nor are the spear and shield held together.

(v) On a Beitin cylinder (cf *BM7* for detail) a menacing Baʿal-Seth appears with a standing goddess with a spear. It contains the inscription "Astarte", but H Weippert argues for Anat (cf discussion of *BM7*).

(vi) On the epigraphic Louvre stela E.26017, published by Vandier (1969 193ff pl VIIb; cf Mesnil du Buisson 1969 524), Astarte (*ʿsṯrt*) also stands and holds a staff.

(vii) The item described by Maspero (cf Vandier 189) is another standing Astarte.

These items leave no doubt about the close relationship between Astarte and horses/chariots. However, on these she is never shown with the shield and spear held *together* and in an upright position. This is unique to Reshef, as on *RR2, 8, 7, 11, 17-19, 35*. On the Wadi ʿAbbad relief Astarte carries a rectangular shield with rounded top (like Reshef) and she waves it wildly above her head. This is also true of other depictions where she is not identified by an inscription.

Inscribed depictions of *Anat* show her with the spear and shield held together, as is more common of Reshef:

(i) The first example is on one of the New Kingdom triad stelae (lower register of *RR30*; cf Bonnet 1952 37 fig 14 = *fig 14*). Here Anat is depicted on the lower register. She sits on a throne with an *ȝtf*-crown and a long garment. Anat brandishes a mace-axe with her left hand above her head. She is holding a rectangular shield and a spear.

(ii) Grdseloff (1942 28ff with pl VI =*fig 15*; cf Stadelmann 1967 96) publishes a situla of Psammetichus I (c 600), which depicts an identical figure.

(iii) The "Michaelidis stela" is comparable to these two examples (Barnett 1969 pl VIA; Winter 1987 fig 209 = *fig 16*). Although it is uninscribed, it depicts an identical figure.

These three examples which can positively be identified as Anat, show that only Anat had her weapons in the same position as Reshef. But there is no piece where she is shown riding.[1]

The other inscribed examples of Anat show her without weapons:

(i) Standing with a *wꜣs*-sceptre, as on the relief from Beisan (Cook 1925 pl XXIV:1; Rowe 1940 33-34 pls XXXV:3 [= *fig 17*], LXVA:1; Leclant 1960 9; Stadelmann 1967 96; Weippert 1988 306).

(ii) Sitting and standing next to the king on two inscribed statues (both with *ꜣtf*-crown) from Tanis (Montet 1933 107-108, 125-126 pls XLVII, LIV, LXX, 1940 pl XIII; cf Leclant 1960 9).

(iii) A relief depicting a seated Anat with *wꜣs*-sceptre (Blok 1930 pl III).

In sum: no item depicting Anat on horseback, and identifying her by an inscription, exists.

In addition to these sources, attention should be devoted to the *art in miniature* which may depict deities on horseback:

(i) The scarabs in the Michaelidis collection are described by Leclant (1960 62ff figs 30ff) in relation to Astarte. A close study of photographs of the original[2] shows that some of them can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth on horseback (eg *BM70-73* - discussed *2.2.2.4*). Others may be depictions of Astarte (eg Leclant figs 30, 31a-d = SM 841/73, 840/73, 839/73, 837/73 and 838/73).

---

1 It has been argued that Anat is never depicted on horseback (Leclant 1960 10 and Winter 1987 230n146).

2 Presently in the Berlin Museum; photographs were kindly supplied by D Wildung.

(ii) A Syrian cylinder depicting a riding figure with *ʒtf*-crown (Leclant pl IB) and a shield (cf Mesnil du Buisson 1969 fig 1 = *fig 18*), and the New York plaque (Leclant 47-48 with fig 25) may depict Astarte.

(iii) To these can be added the seals studied by Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 211ff figs 38-39 and 408 fig 104 [right - here *BM63*]), especially SK 95 (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 211, 214 fig 38 and Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73-74 fig 94e = *fig 19*). He identifies the figure with Anat. Because there is no epigraphic proof for Anat on horseback (not on any inscribed Egyptian stela, nor in the Ugaritic texts), Astarte seems a more likely candidate. Fribourg SK 95 is very similar to the inscribed relief of Astarte (*fig 10*).

(iv) The scarabs published in Petrie[1] (1925 28 pl XV:1084-1085 = UC 38068, 38069) may also be depictions of Astarte.[2]

(v) The scarab of carnelian, OIC 17402, published by Giveon (1980 150 pl XX:2 = *fig 20*) and dated in the 18th dynasty (c 1500-1300) is identified by him as a representation of Reshef. It shows a figure sitting on a horse facing right and holding the reins (?) in the left hand. The headdress is somewhat unclear, but this may be an *ʒtf*-crown[3]. The figure holds a shield in front (seen from the side) This image is very similar to the figure of Astarte on *fig 18*, the Syrian cylinder mentioned earlier.

In none of these cases a spear appears together with a shield as on the inscribed stelae (*RR36-39*). This fact makes any relationship with Reshef difficult to prove.

---

1 In University College London; photographs were kindly supplied by G Martin.

2 Cf on riding figures on scarabs also Matouk (1977 92-93 and 340:417-420) and Hornung/Staehelin (1976 130-131).

3 Giveon describes these as "two hornlike projections which may be slightly deformed gazelle-heads". These are unclear on the impression which was studied. Nor is it clear what he means by "gazelle heads". Reshef is only shown with *one* gazelle head.

After this excursion, a short discussion shall be devoted to horse-riding and chariotry in the ancient Near East (Littauer/Crouwel 1979; cf also in *RlA* V 344ff)[1] with emphasis on the period under discussion.

Chariotry in the ancient Near East (Amadasi 1965; Nagel 1966; Wiesner 1971 29ff) was already known in Mesopotamia in the first half of the third millennium (Yadin 1963 129ff). The earliest evidence for the *horse*-drawn chariot in Western Asia comes from the beginning of the second millennium, as known from Anatolian (Nagel figs 15-17) and Syrian (Nagel fig 18) cylinder seals. Chariots reached Egypt much later via Canaan[2] during the New Kingdom[3]. The earliest representation of a pharaoh in a chariot is on a scarab (BM 17774 = Hall 1913 50 no 475; Newberry 1908 pl XXVI:4) of Tuthmosis I (c 1500). It is remarkable that the Egyptian chariots are exactly the same as the Canaanite ones, a fact which further indicates where the Egyptian chariot originated from.

The chariot is closely connected with the king (Decker 1971 125ff and Wiese 1990 81ff) because of its use in warfare (Pritchard 1969b nos 318-328; Wolf 1926 87ff; Yadin 4) and the hunt (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 figs 11-15). It is owned by private people, as depictions in private graves indicate (Wreszinski 1988 I pl 26a). Although it is used as a transport vehicle (Yadin 1963 210-211), its main use is in warfare. It provides a fast-moving platform from which arrows can be shot. Chariots also serve to protect the infantry (Wreszinski 1988 II pl 17).

Depictions of *deities in chariots* are rare, but not unknown. In Mesopotamia in the Akkadian period (c 2300-2200) the weather-god is shown in a wagon pulled by *Mischwesen* (Boehmer 1965 pl XXI nos 372-374). Inanna is depicted on a clay chariot from Kish (Langdon

1 Cf also Wiesner (1971); Weippert (in Galling 1977 250f).

2 The chariot fittings from Late Bronze age Beisan (James 1978 103ff) indicate this.

3 On horses and chariots in Egypt, see Decker (in *LdÄ* VI 1986 1130-1135); von Deines (1953); Liebowitz (1967 130); Schulman (1963 48ff, 1986); Smith (1965 22ff); Wolf (1926 88ff) and Yadin (1963 186ff); cf now Hofmann (1989).

1924 I pl VII:2). In Egypt the enigmatic Shed, who in spite of his Canaanite gazelle-symbol on his head, seems to have been an Egyptian deity (Brunner in *LdÄ* V 1984 574-549 with literature), is shown in a chariot pulled by horses (Bonnet 1952 676 fig 164) or griffons (Leibovitch 1948 fig 2).

To these may be added the well-known and much discussed Syrian Louvre bronze AO 22265 (Seeden 1980 109-110 no 1725 pls N, 103 and discussion of the different views in Winter 1987 228-230; cf also Collon/Crouwel/Littauer 1976) which depicts two figures on a chariot. The larger smiting figure has been identified as female[1] and representing Anat or Astarte. The smaller figure holding the reins has been identified as a king. Reshef as argued by Barnett (1964 72) is out of the question, because there are no definite Reshef attributes to substantiate this interpretation (Barnett has *Anat* in 1969 [410]).

When the representation of *horse-riding*[2] is studied, the sources are limited with regard both to Mesopotamia and Egypt. In Mesopotamia representations of horses became known generally only from the second millennium BC (van Buren 1939 28ff). An important source in this regard are the terracottas (Barrelet 1968 351 no 679 pl LXIII; Leclant 1960 fig 5; Moorey 1970 pls XII-XIII) dating from pre-Kassite times. Riding figures are known from cylinder seals, as on the two published by Leclant (pl Ib and fig 6) dating from the early second millennium. But this custom could date back to as early as pre-Sargonic times, as on a cylinder in the Fribourg collection (SK 78 [235a] = Staubli 1991 fig 1). Nothing, however, indicates that this is a deity.[3] Horse-riding is also depicted on a cylinder from the Ur III period (c 2112-2004) (Owen 1991).

---

1 According to Collon it is male.

2 Cf the summary articles of Khlopina (1980) and Störk (in *LdÄ* IV 1982 1009-1013) on the horse. In comparison the sources depicting riders on mules should be noted, as collected by Staubli (1991 10ff figs 1, 6, 16-22).

3 A cylinder from the Gutian period (cf Leclant 1960 fig 17) also represents a horse-rider on the right.

In Egypt, where depictions of warfare and animals from the period of the New Kingdom abound, scenes of horse riding are a rarity.[1] This indicates that horses are late-comers to the Egyptian scene. Although osteological evidence of horses found by Emery at Buhen dates from the Middle Kingdom (c 1700) and may indicate that the horse was ridden, the earliest references to horses are on the Kamose stela (c 1550). Horses become common from the New Kingdom onwards. The place of origin was Canaan, as can also be seen by the Canaanite origin of the Egyptian word for horse (*ssmt* - cf Donner 1955). Horses appear among the tribute from Western Asia, as depicted in paintings from the reigns of Amenophis II and Tuthmosis III (Yadin 1963 194-195). As far as riding is concerned, the evidence is sparse and has been collected by Schulman (1957) and Yadin (218-221), dating from the 14th century. Horses' main use is in warfare - to pull the war-chariot. Horse-riding in the heat of battle is also shown, eg ridden by Shasu Bedouin (Pritchard 1969b no 328), by Syrian soldiers (Wreszinski 1988 II pl 57) and by Hittites at the battle of Kadesh (Wreszinski pl 45; Gressmann 1927 pl XLVI no 105), but also by the Egyptians (Yadin 220-221; Wreszinski pl 170).

To the sources for horse-riding in the second millennium can now be added the representation on an unpublished scarab in Fribourg (SK 58 = *pl B)*. It is of unknown provenance, but made of steatite and measures 3,25 x 2,54 x 1,5 cm. It dates from the 19th to the 20th dynasty (c 1300-1100). On the base is a figure sitting on a horse. It holds a weapon in the right hand and the horse by the reins in the left hand. Below is a hippopotamus. To the left of the figure and below the horse are hieroglyphic signs. Also sitting on horseback is a figure on a Tell el-ᶜAjjul scarab (republished by Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 370 pl XIX:2 no 10), dated 1000-900. Another scarab from Tell ᶜAitun (12th century) is published by Shuval (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 138 no 32, cf Keel 394). It shows a figure standing on the back

---

1 On horses in Egypt and their representation, see Decker (1971 122ff); Hornung/Staehelin (1976 130-131); Kühnert-Eggebrecht (1969 83); Leclant (1960); Liebowitz (1967); Schulman (1957); van Seters (1966 184-185) and Störk (in *LdÄ* IV 1982 1009-1013).

of a horse, being led by another figure. In the first two cases there is no reason to believe that deities are depicted, although the third example may depict Qudshu (?). A scaraboid in Basel (Hornung/Staehelin 1976 405 no Va 7) depicts a figure on horseback riding over a fallen enemy. There is nothing to indicate that this is a deity (but cf Hornung/Staehelin 93). An identification with the pharaoh is also unlikely as there is no definite depiction of the pharaoh on horseback in the pre-Ptolemaic periods.

When all depictions of equestrian deities[1] are reviewed, it can be seen that because the custom of riding horses is rare in this period, representations of deities on horseback are rare. The reason why a deity is shown on horseback seems to differ from that of a deity standing on a lion (*2.2.2.3*) or a bull (*BM16*, *85*, *BS1*). The deity is depicted on a lion or a bull because of the connection with the *numinous* power represented by the animal. Riding the horse has a more "practical" reason. The big difference lies in the fact that the gods usually *stand* on animals (Pritchard 1969b no 537)[2], as is the case with Qudshu on the lion (*RR28*ff), whereas Astarte and Reshef *sit* on the horse, ie they are riding it. The horse is especially used in warfare. When it is used with a deity, it indicates the deity's connection with war - as is the case with Astarte and Reshef.

There are no depictions of a riding Anat (contra Keel). Neither is there any connection between horses and Anat in the Ugaritic texts, as is the case with Astarte (*KTU* 1.86 6). Astarte is shown riding, but never with a shield and spear, as in the case of Reshef (*RR35-36*). When she carries a shield, she waves it wildly over her head (*fig 10*).

None of the studies cited proposes an identification of the figure on *RR35-38* with the pharaoh. This possibility should also be considered. However, the Egyptian king is never shown in this way in a chariot or on horseback. In fact, the Egyptian king is never shown on horseback

---

1 See in general Rostovtzeff (1931) and Wiesner (1971).

2 On the Maltaya relief from the 8th century the Mesopotamian sun-god Shamash is shown standing (not riding) on a horse (Pritchard 1969b no 537 [4th figure from the right] and Seidl in *RlA* III 487:§7b; cf Seidl 1989 235 note 4).

during the New Kingdom. There are only certain depictions from the Ptolemaic period (Bergman 1974 19; cf Leclant 1981 III no 68) (more often in a chariot), which makes an identification with a deity more plausible.

No item in the medium of the seal or art in miniature has been found that depicts Reshef riding. Items that have been connected with Reshef in the past, have all been excluded:

(i) The scarab of carnelian (OIC 17402), published by Giveon (1980 150 pl XX:2) who identifies the figure as a representation of Reshef. However, it could rather be identified as Astarte as argued above (*fig 20*).

(ii) Basel 705 (Hornung/Staehelin 1976 330 pl 79) and Matouk 3248 (Matouk 1977 188, 403:1701) depict a figure with a long streamer standing on a horse[1]. It may represent some Canaanite deity, but not necessarily Reshef.

(iii) Scarab IAA 73-170 from Acco (Giveon/Kertesz 1986 38-39 no 142). It shows a winged figure standing on a horse and is identified as Reshef by Giveon/Kertesz. The wings make an identification with Reshef impossible. The figure is taken to represent Baᶜal-Seth (*BM69* below).

(iv) *Cracow MAK/AS/2414* (Śliwa 1985 59) is a representation of Baᶜal-Seth on a lion and not a horse (*BM51* below).

Catalogue

RR35 Berlin 19808. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Pyramid field of Abusir: sanctuary of Sakhmet in the mortuary temple of Sahureᶜ.

Object: Damaged fragment of limestone relief, 18,5 (h) x 10 (w) cm. *Date*: 18th dynasty (c 1500-1300) (with *RR36* and *37*).

Published: Borchardt 1982 126. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 6 (E12); Fuscaldo 1976 130; Gressmann 1927 100 pl CXLIII no 351; Helck 1971 451; Leclant 1960 28-29 fig 8; Leibovitch 1939 149n3; *PM* III/1 334, cf plan XXXVIII; Roeder 1924 II 201; Schulman 1977 14; Spalinger 1978 516; Stadelmann 1967 57.

---

1 Hornung/Staehelin make the animal on Basel 705 a horned one. This is incorrect.

Description: A figure of which only part of the face and arms is visible, is facing right[1]. One hand (left) is lifted and holds a shield and spear. It is uncertain what is depicted above and below the hand. It may be a serpent[2] coiled around a spear[3], but it could also be a rope used to throw the spear (as in Bonnet 1926 105-106 fig 49b and Yadin 1963 355), or only a handle. The shield is shown in the upright position, viewed from the side and curved towards the figure at the top. The other (right) hand holds the reins of a chariot or a horse. Because no horse's head is visible, it is identified as a figure riding a *chariot*. Part of an inscription is visible in front of the figure's face.

Identification: Borchardt, Gressmann, Stadelmann and Helck identify the figure as Reshef. Schulman rejects this as a representation of Reshef, because the beard is unclear. He connects the figure with Qudshu/Astarte/Anat because of the serpent. Leclant identifies the figure as Astarte. Fulco proposes Anat as another possibility, but is indefinite in his judgement. *PM* have both Reshef and Astarte. An identification with Astarte is possible, as she is shown both on horseback and standing on a chariot (cf *excursus*), but never with the shield and spear held together in an upright position. This is quite typical and even unique of Reshef (also Stadelmann). Qudshu is never shown in this way, nor is she ever armed. The way in which the shield and spear are shown together leaves no doubt that this is Reshef in a chariot. This is also attested by the inscribed *RR38* discussed below. [shield/spear]

Inscription: *ḫȝst nb ḫr ṯbwtj.k* = "Every foreign country under your footsoles".[4]

RR36 UC 14374. University College, London (Petrie collection). Thebes west: mortuary temple of Tuthmosis IV.

Object: Upper right of rounded limestone stela, roughly incised, 15 (h) x 17 (w) cm.
Date: 1401-1391 (royal name).

Published: Petrie 1897 9 pl VIII:1*; Stewart 1976 50 pl 40:2*. *Literature*: Helck 1971 451; Leclant 1960 19ff fig 4*; Mercer 1935 197; *PM* II 446 plan XXXIII; Schulman 1957 264-265, 1977 14; Stadelmann 1967 58.

---

1 It is uncertain if there is a beard (also Schulman). Presumably there is a high headdress or crown on the head.

2 Of all the mayor studies on Reshef, only Schulman notices that this is a serpent. Borchardt has "Wurfholz(?)".

3 But note that the figure is not "holding" the serpent (Spalinger 1978 516). There is a big difference between Qudshu holding serpents (eg *RR28*) and the case here where the serpent may be coiled around the spear.

4 Most scholars interpret these as the words of the god to the king.

Description: Only the hand of the figure on horseback, facing right, is visible. The left (?) hand holds a spear and a shield. The rectangular shield is shown fully with rounded top and is slightly tilted to the front (cf *RR14*). The front part of the horse and perhaps also the reins are visible. To the right is Tuthmosis IV (identified by the cartouche) with left hand lifted in a gesture of adoration. The other hand is hanging down and holding a garland of flowers.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef because the shield and spear are typical of this god and not of Astarte as Leclant, Schulman and Stewart have it. Anat is shown with these weapons (cf *fig 13* above). However, she is not depicted on horseback, which makes an identification with her less likely. [shield/spear]

Inscription: *mn-ḫprw-rʿ nṯr nfr* = "Menkheprureʿ (Tuthmosis IV), the good god".

RR37 Karnak. In situ. Thebes west: Karnak, great temple of Amun, Ḥeb-Sed temple of Amenophis II, court IV, between 9th and 10th pylons, loc KG 235-6 (*PM* II plans I, VI, XV).

Object: Broken relief of limestone. *Date*: 1427-1401 (location).

Published: Simpson 1960 64-65 pl XVII (1). *Literature*: Fulco 1976 3 (E4); Fuscaldo 1976 128n5; Helck 1971 450; *PM* II 185; Schulman 1977 13; Stadelmann 1967 57.

Description: Remains of part of the body, the wheel of a chariot and a quiver attached to it are visible on the lower left. In the middle above is part of a spear and shield (also Helck), but no part of a horseman (Fulco). Next to these are the names of two gods and to the right the heads of two horses. A disk is visible in front of the horses' harness and flowing streamers behind their necks.

Identification: The figure originally depicted a chariot with horses in front. The inscription is not conclusive evidence for identifying the lost figure on the scene as Reshef, but the remains of the spear and shield make an identification with the god Reshef a strong possibility. [inscription].

Inscription: *(m)nṯw-ršp* = (M)onthu-Reshef.

RR38 Sai S.108. Sai magazines. Sai (Sudan) excavations of Vercoutter, 1955-1957.

Object: Fragment of sandstone relief, 62 (h) x 43 (w) x 10 (d) cm. *Date*: 18th dynasty (with *RR36* and *RR37*).

Published: Vercoutter 1958 155-156 pl XLV:a. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 5-6 (E11); Fuscaldo 1976 130, n10; Helck 1971 451; Leclant 1960 29-30 fig 9; Schulman 1977 14; Simpson 1960 65; Stadelmann 1967 57.

Description: The remains of a horse's head and a shield (shown fully with rounded top as *RR36*) are visible. There are inscriptions above the figure.

Interpretation: The figure can be identified as Reshef, as done by Helck and Stadelmann. Schulman follows Leclant's identification with Astarte, but both the type of the shield and the inscription, which explicitly mentions Reshef, contradict such an interpretation. The text may be the speech of the rider as Schulman feels, but cannot be ignored. There is no definite inscriptional and iconographic proof to identify the figure with Astarte as done by Leclant. [inscription]

Inscription: *mȝȝ*...(?) *ntb sw šnw bw ršp* = "when...(?) is observed, the encircler of the place (= desert) Reshef burns him".

Synthesis

The items *RR35-38* originate from Abusir, Thebes and from Sai in Nubia (Sudan). Three of the items come from a definite religious context (*RR35-37*) and are connected with the king. Tuthmosis IV is depicted and his name is given in the inscription on *RR36*. All four items are broken and the complete context is unknown. *RR36* is part of the upper section of a rounded stelae, while the other three are reliefs. *RR37* is still in situ at Karnak.

The sources studied under this section all date from the first half of the 18th dynasty. *RR36* and *RR37* can be dated precisely according to the location and royal name. This type is not known from later periods. Reshef depictions are also known in Egypt from the 25th dynasty (c 700) onwards (Fulco 1976 20-21 [E48-49]), but never in relation with horses (nor mentioned in relation with horses in texts). This indicates that Reshef is only depicted on horseback or in a chariot in the early periods of his introduction into Egypt.

Two of the items (*RR35, 37*) show him in a chariot. In the first case he is only shown holding the reins, but in the second example the wheel and horses' heads are also visible. The horses' heads are quite clear on the examples of the riding figure (*RR36* and *38*). The god's head is only visible on *RR35*. Unfortunately no attributes, such as the headdress with symbols, are visible. The weapons are visible on all four examples. This fact makes positive identification possible. The shield and spear, held together in the typical way, are shown clearly on *RR35* and *RR36*. The shields are respectively shown from the side with curved top towards the figure; and rectangular, slightly tilted to the

front. On *RR38* the rectangular shield is shown alone and on *RR37* part of a spear and a shield is visible.

It is not exactly clear what the Berlin and the Karnak reliefs depicting Reshef on the chariot looked like originally, but these can be reconstructed from other scenes of chariotry. The scene on one of the panels of the chariot of Tuthmosis IV (Pritchard 1969b nos 314-316; Keel 1980b no 357 = *fig 21*) is very interesting. It depicts the king with the war-god Monthu standing behind him. However, on the two scenes depicting Reshef the god stands alone holding his usual weapons. There is no indication that the king was also depicted as on *fig 21*. The disk is not as usual above the reins, or above the horses' heads, but in front and just above the harness. On *fig 21* the reins are around the pharaoh's body, while he is shooting with his bow. *RR36* and *38* may have looked like *fig 21*.

Nevertheless, *fig 21* is even more interesting when the close relationship between the war deities Astarte, Monthu and Reshef is observed. The inscriptions on the Reshef documents *RR36-39* come from the context of war and even connect Reshef with Monthu. The sphinx stela of Amenophis II (Fulco 1976 3 [E3]) associates Reshef with horsemanship and connects him with Monthu and Astarte. In another text, the Karnak stela (Fulco 3-4 [E5]), the same king is compared with Monthu, whereas in the Memphis version he is compared with Reshef. In texts commemorating the Libyan campaigns of Ramses III, the chariot warriors are "as mighty as Reshefs" and the king is "as strong as Monthu" (Fulco 18-19 [E44]).

All four items have inscriptions. Two mention Reshef by name (*RR37-38*). Only one relief depicts (and mentions) a worshipper, Tuthmosis IV on *RR36*. The inscriptions are all of a warlike character. They mention Reshef with the war god Monthu (*RR37*) or contain words describing the subjugation and destruction of the enemies of Egypt (*RR35* and *38*). *RR38* seems to describe Reshef as a scorcher or burner, ie a god of the desert. Has this something to do with the fact that Reshef is a god of pestilence?

Although the provenance of the sources should not be overemphasized, and one should always keep in mind that not all the sources have

survived or been found, it is notable that all the representations of the riding or driving Reshef come from *Egypt*. In contrast, many other depictions of the god are known from the whole of the ancient Near East showing him in a non-equestrian way. No traditional Egyptian deity on horseback is known[1], whereas Asiatic deities are connected with horses (Astarte being the example par excellence). Unexpectedly, no representations of Reshef on horseback or in a chariot are known from Western Asia.

As already observed, it is remarkable that all the sources date from the 18th dynasty, but never from the later periods. The connection of Reshef with horses (and consequently his relation to Monthu and Astarte) in the textual record has also been pointed out. These texts come from the context of battle. The scenes depicting Reshef on horseback and in the chariot all show him with weapons (shield or shield and spear) and therefore emphasize his warlike character. This is further emphasized by the accompanying inscriptions mentioning Reshef together with Monthu and describing the subjugation and destruction of Egypt's enemies.

In some new texts from Ugarit (RS 1986 2235:16), published by Caquot (1986 438) and Bordreuil (1987 298; cf Smith 1990 122n8), there is mention of the *horses* of Reshef. This is the only evidence from *Canaan* so far which indicates that there is some connection between Reshef and horses.

---

1 Although Seth (Capart 1934) and Horus (see Bergman 1974 13ff) have some relationship to horses, no representations of them on horseback are known. Horus is connected with horses in the later period. Representations of Horus from the Coptic period (5th century AD) show him in the guise of St George on horseback spearing a crocodile (Michalowski fig 718). These have little to do with the motif under discussion.

2.1.2 Seals, amulets and other art in miniature

This section includes the study of the so-called "glyptic" sources. These are defined as the study of seals (Moortgat-Correns in *RlA* III 441) as well as amulets and other forms of "art in miniature" (Porada 1976 107), as differentiated from monumental art. The cylinder seals are described first, followed by a description of the stamp seals which include the scarabs and other amulets. The importance of the seals and amulets as sources has already been emphasized in the *Introduction*.

However, some remarks on the identification of the figures as Reshef should be made. Especially on the scarabs the figures are shown outside of a broader context. This makes identification more difficult. If the items had inscriptions (as is the case with the reliefs and stelae) identifying the figures, there would have been no problem. It is uncertain whether a god or a king is depicted, as the uraeus which occurs with the figures could fit both.[1] The items depicting a figure brandishing weapons are very similar to the so-called "smiting pharaoh" scenes (Hall 1986). Therefore the two can easily be confused. This need not be the case, as there is a very important difference: there is no adversary on the items presented here. On the other hand, the pharaoh grabs the victim by the hair (eg *BR3*). The king is never shown with a shield when he is in the smiting pose, but this is again typical for the items that are interpreted as representing the god Reshef. When one keeps these two differences in mind, there is less possibility of misinterpreting the figure of the pharaoh as Reshef (or vice versa). For the human warrior figure on cylinder seals, which may carry a spear and shield, as is the case with Reshef (cf Louvre AO 7223 [A.861] in Delaporte I 1920 187, II 1923 pl 94:15 and Leclant 1960 fig 6), other iconographic criteria should be used to identify the figure.

Baʿal and Reshef are both shown as "menacing gods", ie with a hand/fist or weapon raised in an aggressive way, but the two can easily be distinguished from each other. Baʿal is never shown with a shield on inscribed stelae. As Baʿal-Seth, Baʿal may be winged, can stand on a lion, and is a serpent killer (*2.2.2.2-2.2.2.3*, *2.2.2.5*). For this reason,

1 On the pharaoh and the uraeus on scarabs, cf Wiese (1990 18ff).

the following items which are sometimes mentioned in connection with Reshef, are excluded:

(i) The *Cassirer scarab* (*BM78*) and other items with winged figures which are connected with Reshef (Cassirer 1959 and Matouk 1977 76), are depictions of Baᶜal-Seth. No winged Reshef has been found. This substantiates the views of Schulman (1979) and Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 294, 303ff; cf Giveon 1980 149) that no Reshef with wings exists.

(ii) The winged serpent slayer as on Hannover *CAA 2,182*, is not Reshef (Beste 1979), but Baᶜal-Seth (*BM79*).

(iii) The scarab *Cracow MAK/AS 2414*, published by Śliwa (1985 59), is identified as a representation of Baᶜal-Seth on a lion (*BM51*).

(iv) The scarabs Chicago 17402; IAA 73-170, Matouk 3248 and Basel 705 which depict a riding figure (cf under *2.1.1.3*).

(v) The Beitin cylinder *Rockefeller 35.4442* is discussed under the Baᶜal items (*BM7*).

(vi) The unique faience scarab Basel 660 (Hornung/Staehelin 1976 32 1 pl 73) has the inscription *ršp*, but depicts the Seth animal (𓃩). It is of no iconographic importance for this study.

(vii) The Matouk scarab (Matouk 1977 61, 76, 334:173, 377:210) which Matouk wants to relate to the triad of Min, Qudshu and Reshef (cf *2.1.1.2*), depicts Min in the middle with a goddess on the left, but definitely no Reshef on the right [1].

(viii) The figure on the scarab from Gezer (Macalister 1912 pl CCV1:44) is identified by Galling (1977 10-11 fig 3:3) as Reshef, although he admits that the palm twig is unusual. The last element makes it impossible to be a representation of Reshef - it should rather be connected with Baᶜal.

Items which fall outside of the time period set for this study, are excluded from the catalogue. Some of these are included for compar-

1 Also negative are Giveon (1980 149) and Schulman (1979 80n3).

isons[1]. Three Syrian cylinders studied by Matthiae (1963 32-34 pls XIV:1-3; cf Vanel 1965 89) should be mentioned:

(i) Louvre AO 4795 is specially important (Delaporte I 1920 193-194, II 1923 pl 96:17 [A.919]; Winter 1987 fig 428) (*fig 22*). The god is identified by the cuneiform inscription as Nergal, who is identified as Reshef in the texts fom Ugarit (Nougayrol in Schaeffer 1968 45 [RS 20.24:26], cf 57; *KTU* 1.47 27 and cf von Weiher 1971 90-91 with literature). On this seal the god is shown with a bow and spear.

(ii) On AO 6268 (Delaporte I 1920 194, II 1923 pl 96:18 [A.921]; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 199 fig 31 = *fig 23*) the god is flanked by a caprid.[2]

(iii) New York Pierpont Morgan 993 (Porada 1948a I 135, II pl CL), dated 1720-1650.[3]

The seals discussed in the catalogue have been divided into the following types:

(i) *2.1.2.1* (*RM1-15*) depicting the *menacing* god,

(ii) *2.1.2.2* (*RM16-20*) depicting the *standing* god, and

(iii) *2.1.2.3* (*RM21-42*) depicting the god on or with the *gazelle/horned animal.*

---

1 This exclusion is done while keeping in mind that the dating, especially of Syrian cylinder seals, is still a problem. Cf Winter (1987 205ff, especially 214) and Opificius (1969).

2 Compare Louvre AO 1857 (Delaporte no A.933, I 1920 196, II 1923 pl 97:5; Vanel 1965 86, 88 fig 44; Keel 1984b fig 19) dating from 1750. It depicts a nude female figure standing on a lion and facing a male god. The male god stands with a decorated short kilt wearing an Egyptian conical crown, holding his right hand in the air (no weapon is visible) and in his left hand a long spear. This armed figure can be identified as Reshef or Baʿal according to the pose and the weapon.

3 Cf also the new and closely related parallel to Porada 993, Marcopoli 522 (Teissier 1984 85, 262-263).

2.1.2.1 The menacing god (RM1-RM15)

Introduction

The first type represents Reshef as the "menacing god", ie brandishing his weapon or holding his hand above his head.

Excluded here is the Tell el-Ghassil (Beqaʿa) cylinder seal (Baramki 1964 fig 43:1; Seeden 1980 pl 138:23). It shows a figure brandishing a hand-weapon and grabbing a horned animal by the horns. The figure looks like Reshef in the company of a caprid (eg *RM1*), but cannot be identified as Reshef. The act is unknown for Reshef, but more typical for the pharaoh smiting a wild animal (eg Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 30, 32 fig 1).

Catalogue

RM1 Amarna. Present location unknown. El-Amarna.

Object: Cylinder seal, 2,4 (h) cm with double and single borders, right half lost[1]. *Date*: c 1365-1350.

Published: Petrie 1894 29 pl XVI:183. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 302-303 fig 64*; Roeder 1956 45.

Description: A figure is striding to the right. It wears a high headdress (white crown?), raises the right hand above the head and holds a large shield in the left hand. The shield is curved at the top and seen from the side. In front is a hovering bird, rampant horned animal (caprid?) and part of a tree.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef by the pose and the shield. The animals are new additions to Reshef's repertoire of iconographic attributes[2], but can be connected with Reshef/Nergal. The caprid also occurs on cylinder Louvre AO 6268 (*fig 23*). The figure on the last-mentioned item can also be connected with the one on the cylinder AO 4795 (*fig 22*) which has the inscription "servant of Nergal", as stated above. Nergal was the East-Semitic equivalent of West-Semitic Reshef. [shield/caprid]

---

1 This seal was made at Amarna (as Petrie 1894 no 181 of which the mould has been found). The style is, however, non-Egyptian. The part lost may have looked like *RM5* where a large plant is depicted.

2 Cf also the armed figure with horned animals on the Alalakh cylinders in Collon (1982 nos 70 and 111).

RM2 Louvre AO 22361. Musée National du Louvre, Paris (ex-collection de Clercq). Sidon?[1]

Object: Cylinder seal of blue cobalt glass imitation of lapis lazuli (Collon 1987 128, 1990 34)[2], 2,6 (h) x 1,3 (d) cm) with single borders. *Date*: 14th-13th centuries[3].

Published: Menant 1888 pl XXXVIII:386bis. *Literature*: Collon 1987 128; Contenau 1934 1055; Cook 1925 115n4; Digard 1975 no 4441; Frankfort 1939 289 pl XLIV:p; Grdseloff 1942 19; Gubel 1986b 218 no 243; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 302-303 fig 66*; Markoe 1990 18 fig 7; Mesnil du Buisson 1973 75, 270 pl IV:2; Müller 1893 311-312*; Pietschmann 1889 151 (below)*; Sayce 1893 240-241; Seeden 1980 pl 138:15*; Thompson 1970 137; Ward 1910 270-271 fig 805*; van Wijngaarden 1929 35-36.

Description: A human figure stands between two striding gods with pleated short kilts. It has the left hand in a gesture of praise, the other one hanging down. It faces a god (facing left) which has the head of an animal with long ears and is holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀 = dominion) in the right hand, while the left hand hangs down passively. To the left is a figure with the white crown which faces right, holding a shield in front in the left hand. The shield is shown sideways with a curved top. The figure is brandishing a hand-weapon (mace?). There are inscriptions in Middle Babylonian cuneiform (Amarna age) on the right.

Identification: The divine figure[4] on the left can be identified as Reshef[5], especially since the shield is an unique attribute. [shield]

Inscription: = *addumu šàr ali ṣiduni nāgir ilāni* = "Addumu, king of the city of Sidon, herald of the gods".

---

1 According to the inscription this seal as well as the next one belonged to Sidonians.

2 Also *RM3*.

3 Gubel: Phoenician 13th century; Frankfort: Egyptian-Assyrian 1350-1200 (19th dynasty).

4 The figure is thus flanked by two war gods, cf also Reshef with Seth on the next item. Seth and Reshef are also shown together on *Aswan 16* (*RR34*).

5 It is remarkable that the god is represented in his Egyptian form (as already noted by Müller and van Wijngaarden), although the seal comes from the Levant.

RM3 Louvre AO 22362. Musée National du Louvre, Paris (ex-collection de Clercq)[1]. Sidon?

Object: Cylinder seal with single borders of blue cobalt glass imitation of lapis lazuli (Collon 1987 128, 1990 34), 2,7 (h) x 1,3 (d) cm. *Date*: 14th-13th century.

Published: Menant 1888 pl XXXVIII:386ter. *Literature*: Collon 1987 127-129 no 551; Contenau 1922 131 no 87*, 1934 1055 fig 733*; Cook 1925 115, n4; Culican 1976 65n51; Digard 1975 no 4442; Frankfort 1939 289n1; Grdseloff 1942 19; Gubel 1986b 218-219 no 244; Keel in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 302-303 fig 66*; Markoe 1990 18; Mesnil du Buisson 1973 75 270 pl IV:1; Pietschmann 1889 151 (top)*; Seeden 1980 pl 138:14*; Thompson 1970 137; Ward 1910 270-271 fig 806*; van Wijngaarden 1929 36.

Description: The two divine figures on the left are identical to the ones on the previous cylinder[2]. Differences are: the size of the shield of the first figure[3], the fact that the second figure is holding an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥ = life) in the right hand (not on the previous item), and that all the figures are facing left. To the right is a falcon-headed god, identified as Reʿ-Harakhty[4]. There are inscriptions in cuneiform.

Identification: The first figure can be identified as Reshef. [shield]

Inscription: *annipi mār addumi šàr ṣiduni* = "Annipi, son of Addumu[5], king of Sidon".

RM4 Rockefeller J. 951. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell el-Husn/Beth-Shean (Beisan) VII.

Object: Cylinder seal of glazed steatite, 2 (h) x 0,95 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1200.

Published: Rowe 1940 85 pl XXXVIII no 15*. *Literature*: Digard 1975 no 1581; Parker 1949 32 pl XXI no 142.

---

1 This seal is identical to the previous one as far as material, provenance, period, style and script are concerned. The size is also nearly the same.

2 For a detailed description, see the previous item.

3 It looks like the crooked staff of Amurru (Kupper 1961), but can only be a shield when compared with other items depicting Reshef as a warrior with a shield (eg *RM4*, *7-8*).

4 Ward has Horus, but the sun-disk with ureaus is more typical of Reʿ-Harakhty (Pritchard 1969b no 573:6).

5 His father is known as the owner of the previous item.

Description: A figure is striding to the left. It wears a conical headdress and short kilt. The left hand is raised, brandishing a hand-weapon[1]. The right hand holds what looks like a small shield[2]. In front two rampant lions are standing face to face[3].

Identification: The figure may be identified as Reshef according to the pose and the shield.[4] [shield]

RM5 Rockefeller 34.34123. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), temple structure III, room E III (C9E) (shrine of Amenophis II, used until the 19th dynasty [c1300-1220]).

Object: Cylinder seal, 1,6 (h) x 0,7 (d) cm of dark brown faience with single borders, bored, two panels. Style: popular Mitannian. *Date*: 14th-13th centuries.

Published: Rowe 1936 249-250 pl XXVII no S.57. *Literature*: Digard 1975 no 418; Fulco 1976 8 (E16); Giveon 1980 145; Parker in Tufnell II 1940 73 no 47 pls XXXIIIA*, XXXIIIB; Parker 1949 12 pl IV:2; Schulman 1979 no 42.

Description: Left: a figure striding to the left, brandishing a mace-axe in the left hand. There is a shield in front of the body in the right hand (curved at the top, shown from the side). The figure wears a conical crown and a short knee-length kilt. In front is a plant (?) and on the back is a quiver (?)[5]. Right: Plant ending in concentric circles[6].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the typical pose and the shield of Reshef. [shield]

RM6 Berlin 15394. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Provenance unknown.

Object: Cylinder seal of glazed stone, circa 3 (h) cm, with single border. *Date*: 18th dynasty (1500-1300)?

Published: Prinz 1915 130 pl XII:2*. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 302-303 fig 65*.

---

1 Parker has "axe(?)".

2 This is very similar to *RM3*. Parker is uncertain on this.

3 On the impression the animals look as if they are flanking the figure.

4 Cf *RM2* and *3* (Sidon) and especially *RM5*, *7* (from Palestine).

5 Parker in Tufnell calls this a club-like object; another possibility would be a lute (?). A quiver seems more logical in this position behind or hanging on the back of the figure.

6 Cf Petrie (1925 pl XVIII:1356).

Description: Right: a figure strides to the left, dressed in a short, knee-length kilt and with the white crown on the head. The figure holds a spear with shield in front and brandishes a weapon. The weapon has a long shaft[1] and passes behind the neck. Behind the figure is an ibex. To the left is an identical figure with a caprid. Between the figure is what looks like a sun-disk or a star.

Identification: The pose and weapons (especially the shield and spear held together) are typical of Reshef. The figure can positively be identified as Reshef (so also Prinz). [spear/shield]

RM7 IAA 74-219. Israel Museum, Jerusalem. Tell Jezer (Gezer) - tomb offering from cave 10A (J Seger).

Object: Oval seal of serpentine. *Date*: 15th-14th centuries.

Published: Seger 1972 fig 26.

Description: The figure strides to the left. It wears a conical headdress and a short kilt. The left hand is raised, brandishing a hand-weapon. The right hand is holding a small shield[2]. It is shown sideways and is curved at the top.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the pose and the shield. [shield]

RM8 YMCA 287B. Jerusalem YMCA, Clarke collection. Provenance: Palestine.

Object: Steatite scarab, base linear with slightly sunk relief with decoration, clear back, 1,8 (l) x 1,27 (w) x 0,7 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1300?

Published: Unpublished.

Description: A figure strides to the right. It wears the white crown[3] and a decorated knee-length kilt. The figure brandishes a weapon (a *ḫpš*-sword?) in the raised right hand and holds a shield in the left hand. This is shown sideways with the curve away from the figure. On the back is what looks like a highly decorated quiver, or is this a plant? In front of the face is the sign ☥ (*ʿnḫ*) and in front of the legs is a uraeus (𓆗), facing right.

1 Prinz "wahrscheinlich auch eine Lanze...". On the problem of Reshef with two spears (no lance!) see further under *RR1*.

2 This figure and his weapons are very similar to *RM2-3* (cylinders) and the scarab *RM10*.

3 However, this crown may be more Hittite-like.

Identification: The uraeus is typical of gods on scarabs[1] and other amulets (cf *RM10, 12-13*). The figure can be identified as Reshef by the pose and the shield. [shield]

RM9 Strasbourg 1477. Egyptian Collection of the University of Strasbourg? Provenance unknown.

Object: Scarab with green glaze, 2,2 (l) x 1,2 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1800-1300?

Published: Spiegelberg 1908 530 figs 3a-b. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 15 (E31); Schulman 1979 no 41; Stadelmann 1967 74n3; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:9*.

Description: A figure strides to the right, with the white crown and knee-length kilt. It brandishes a mace (the form of the head looks more round than that of the cutting edge of an axe) above the head with the right hand. The figure holds a large shield (shown from the side with sharp curve) in the left hand; at the back hangs a quiver.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef (also Stadelmann) by the pose and the shield. [shield/quiver]

RM10 Rockefeller 32.2672. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Purchased.

Object: Scarab of light grey steatite, deeply incised, back clear, 1,5 (l) x 1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1400.

Published: Rowe 1936 138 pl XV no 574. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 7 (E15); Leibovitch 1941 491 fig 61*; Schulman 1979 82-83n48; Stadelmann 1967 74n3.

Description: A figure strides to the right wearing a short knee-length kilt, with the white crown. The figure is brandishing a short weapon in the right hand[2] and holding what looks like a thin and small shield in the left hand. To the left is the *nfr*[3]-symbol (𓄤 = beauty) and in front of the figure is part of a twig. There is a uraeus facing the figure just above the tip of the shield[4].

---

1 Cf with Ptah (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 27, 314 with figures 27, 119-120; Murray in Tufnell 1958 IV pl 39:360 and Ward 1902 pl XIV:62).

2 According to Schulman the figure is weaponless.

3 Leibovitch reads the *nfr* and the uraeus as standing for *nṯr nfr* = "good god".

4 Another possible interpretation is that the figure is only holding a *uraeus* (Rowe). The uraeus is comparable to the MB scarabs depicting the falcon-headed figure holding a uraeus or a combination of a uraeus and a plant (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 267-269 figs 81-87, cf only with a uraeus the scarab from Lachish in Tufnell 1940 pl XXXIIA no 1). However, the interpre-

Identification: The uraeus may indicate that a god is involved, as it also occurs on *RM8, 12-13*. The figure can be identified as Reshef (also Stadelmann and Fulco)[1] according to the pose and the shield. [shield]

RM11 Ashmolean 1890.119a. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Bought in Beirut (Chester).

Object: Dark-green jasper scarab, 1,4 (l) x 1 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Buchanan/Moorey 1988 22 pl IV no 143.

Description: A figure[2] with the white crown is striding right, dressed in a knee-length kilt. The left hand is raised, brandishing a hand-weapon[3]. In the left hand the figure holds a shield. This is shown from the side with curved top pointing away from the figure - as on *RM8*. Behind the figure is an unidentifiable object.[4]

Identification: The headdress, the pose and the shield are typical of Reshef[5]. [shield]

RM12 UC 38064. University College, London. Unknown provenance.

Object: Scarab, 2 (l) x 1,5 (w) x 1,3 (h) cm, of green-blue glaze with slightly sunken relief and a checkered pattern. *Date*: c 1500.

Published: Petrie 1925 26 pl XV:988. *Literature*: Matouk 1977 246, 369:219*.

Description: A figure with the white crown is striding right, dressed in a knee-length kilt. The right hand is raised above the head. In the left hand is a large shield which is shown from the side with curved top. The figure is flanked by two uraei, each on

---

tation which identifies only the uraeus is rejected. The shield is quite common with depictions of the god Reshef, as on *RM9-10, 12*. Therefore, the interpretation of the *shield* and a uraeus is preferred (also Fulco). The object is too large to be a spear.

1 Rejected by Schulman, who feels one could identify the figure as a king.

2 Cf *RM7*, which is of a known provenance.

3 Buchanan/Moorey have "sword".

4 Can it be a quiver hanging on his back?

5 Buchanan/Moorey have pharaoh. In the same collection is a cylinder seal (1890.365 = Buchanan 1966 199 pl 62 no 1008) which depicts a figure on the right that resembles Reshef as well, with the left hand brandishing a weapon, but with the right hand unclear.

a *nb*-sign (𓎟 = lord). The uraeus on the left has a sun-disk on the head. Above is a sun-disk in a bark (𓊛) or a sun-disk and a crescent(?)[1].

Identification: The headdress, the pose and the shield are typical of Reshef.[2] [shield]

RM13 Minet el-Beida. Aleppo? Minet el-Beida (near Ras Shamra).

Object: Oval pendant of blue paste, outlined. *Date:* 14th-13th centuries.

Published: Schaeffer 1932 6-7 pl V:4. *Literature*: Seeden 1980 pl 138:17*.

Description: A figure is striding to the right on a base-line, with the Egyptian white crown, decorated with a uraeus in front. It wears a decorated knee-length kilt with a belt and a bull's tail at the back[3]. There is a small shield in the left hand and a raised right hand. To the left is an *ʿnḫ*; below the figure is the *nbw*-sign (𓋞 = gold); and to the right is an upright uraeus, facing right.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the pose and the shield. [shield]

RM14 Cairo CG 25063. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Thebes west - Valley of the Kings, tomb no 9 (Biban el-Muluk).

Object: Limestone ostracon with breaks on three sides, sketched with ruddle, coloured red and black, 2,5 (h) x 1,35 (w) cm. *Date*: 1151-1143 (Ramesses VI).

Published: Daressy 1901 pl XIII no 25063. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 19 (E46); Gressmann 1927 99 pl CXLI no 346; Helck 1971 452 no 23; Müller 1906 33 pl 41:3; Schulman 1979 no 27, 1985 fig 4*; Stadelmann 1967 68; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:b*.

Description: A figure strides to the right. It wears the white crown with only the lower part visible[4] and the Egyptian-type beard. The clothes are an undecorated knee-length kilt with flap and a belt, and a broad necklace around the neck. On the upper left arm is a bangle. The figure holds a spear with a shield in the left hand. The shield is rectangular with a rounded top. It is strengthened by a metal disk and a

---

1 Cf Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 190).

2 Petrie has "king hunting".

3 The bull's tail is the only example in the art in miniature material attested thus far. Cf the relief *RR13* above.

4 The head of the gazelle is unclear on the photograph of the original, but it is visible on the one in Gressmann (?).

broad rim. The raised right arm is broken off, but there may be a small quiver hanging on the back[1].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the pose and the weapons (shield and spear). [shield/spear]

Inscription: ( ) *m st-mꜣꜥt* ( ) *j jt.j sḏm-ꜥš st-mꜣꜥt kꜣ* ( ) = "...in the place of truth ...my father. The servant in the place of truth PN".

RM15 Müller. Present location[2] and provenance unknown.

Object: Plaque of blue-glaze, design flat and indistinct, 2 (h) cm[3]. *Date*: 1500-1150.

Published: Müller 1906 33*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 18 (E42); Schulman 1979 no 32; Seeden 1980 pl 138:18*.

Description: A figure with a long Egyptian beard strides to the right. It is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a belt and the white crown with a streamer tied around it with a knot hanging down onto the shoulders. The left hand holds a shield and spear in the left hand (shown fully). The right hand brandishes a mace-axe. It is depicted as being behind the crown[4].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef by the shield and the spear. [spear/shield].

Synthesis

The first type of Reshef figure attested to in the art in miniature is the striding god with a weapon or hand raised in a menacing way above the head.

In most cases the cylinders studied here come from Western Asia (*RM1-6*). One example comes from Egypt, from Amarna (*RM1*), where it was manufactured. This is quite important, because Amarna was only inhabited for a short period during the reign of Akhenaten (c 1350) and further because cylinder seals are not common in ancient Egypt and Palestine when compared to the more typical Egyptian

---

1 Gressmann makes this a kind of wooden mace with strings, as in Wolf (1926 80 fig 53), but this is unnecessary.

2 Schulman cites as museum number Cairo JE 2630, but the item could not be traced in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

3 Calculated from Müller's drawing, which he says is double the size.

4 According to Müller, the quiver on the back has broken off.

scarab. This item must have been the property (carried as an amulet) of some individual (Canaanite foreigner?). *RM2-3* presumably originate from the Phoenician port of Sidon, owned respectively by father and son. Two items come from Palestine/Israel - the cylinder seal *RM4* from Beisan and *RM5* from Lachish. The stamp seal *RM7* is from Gezer. The provenance of the pendant *RM13* is North Syrian Ugarit. The ostracon (*RM14*) was found in the Valley of the Kings in Egypt.

The *Sitz im Leben* of *RM5* is cultic, as it was found in a temple. *RM*7 was found as part of a tomb offering in a cave. *RM2-3* are more official, owned by a person called the king of Sidon and his son. The other seals were carried as amulets and therefore owned by private people.

Nearly all the media of the art in miniature are represented: Mesopotamian cylinder seals (*RM1-6),* seals and scarabs (*RM7-12*), pendants and plaques (*RM13, 15*) and a drawing on an ostracon or potsherd (*RM14*).

As far as the manufacturing technique of the media is concerned, it is seen that *RM1* comes from Egypt, but is non-Egyptian in style. Parker calls attention to the fact that *RM5* is a cylinder, but it is cut more like a scarab with square-edged incision and not rounded. It is in the so-called "Mitannian popular style" (cf Frankfort 1939 278ff). The scarab *RM10* is deeply incised. The cylinder *RM5* has two sections, but the one part of *RM1* is lost.

The cylinders are manufactured from an imitation of the highly valued lapis lazuli (*RM2-3*; cf Collon 1987 128, 1990 34), the more common steatite (*RM4, 10*) and faience (*RM5*). The scarabs are mostly made of steatite (as is common with scarabs), as is the plaque (*RM15*). The jasper example (*RM11*) is an exception. The ostracon (*RM14*) is of limestone.

The *inscriptions* which occur do not help in identifying the god, although they give some titles and names (*RM2-3, 14*). For the identification of the figure of Reshef, one has to rely on comparative iconography, working from the inscribed Egyptian stelae (*2.1.1*). He is shown on the items under discussion in a menacing pose, facing left (*RM3-7*), or right (*RM1-2, 8-10-15*). This menacing pose is also typical of Baᶜal

(*2.2.2.1*) and does not help to identify the figure that is depicted. The only attribute that is unique to Reshef is the *shield*, which is never attested to on inscribed stelae depicting Baᶜal.

The iconographic *attributes* are very unclear because of the small space left for detail on the seals. The god wears a beard (on *RM14-15*) and a high headdress. The headdress resembles the Egyptian white crown (𓋑) or a more Asiatic (or Hittite) version of it. It is unclear on *RM4-5*, while the upper part is missing on *RM14*. The uraeus-symbol (𓆗) is visible on *RM13*. In all cases, the god is dressed in the short kilt, but without tassels. On *RM2-3, RM8, 10, 12-13* it is decorated. *RM13* has a bull's tail; *RM14* depicts a collar and even a bangle. *RM13-15* have a belt.

Much better information is supplied by the *weaponry*. Although the hand-weapon is not always clearly identifiable, it can be seen that he holds the mace-axe (*RM15, RM5*), mace (*RM9*) and perhaps even the sickle-sword (or *ḫpš*) (*RM8*). The shield is the most typical of all the weapons of Reshef, as seen on the inscribed reliefs. It is shown rectangular with the spear on *RM6* and *14-15* - on *RM14* even with a rim and a metal disk. The other shields are shown sideways. This shield is sometimes thick and decorated as on *RM9* and *12*; or small and just a thin base-line as on *RM3-4, 10. RM10* is exceptional, showing a uraeus above what has been interpreted as a shield. A quiver is seen on *RM8-9*. There is a small one on *RM14* and perhaps one on *RM5*(?). As seen with *RR5*, there are three items which depict the god only with the hand or fist raised in a menacing way, without brandishing any weapon (*RM1, 12-13*). On the meaning of this, see *4.1*.

A wide variety of other *symbols* is seen. The object behind the figure on *RM11* is unclear. Uraei (𓆗) are in front of the figure on the scarabs *RM8* and *RM13*; on *RM10* it is above a shield. The uraeus is a symbol of protection par excellence (Bonnet 1952 844ff; Hornung/Staehelin 1976 134f; Johnson 1990 and Wiese 1990 18ff). *RM12* shows the figure flanked by two uraei on *nb*-signs (𓆗). There is a sun-disk or a star on *RM6*. Other Egyptian symbols that occur are: *ᶜnḫ* (☥) on *RM8, 13*, *nfr* (𓄤) on *RM10* and *nbw* (𓋞) on *RM13*. The figure is shown on the cylinders *RM1, 6* with horned animals, as on

the earlier mentioned AO 6268 (*fig 23* above). There is also a bird on *RM1*. Trees/plants occur on many scarabs and cylinders: *RM1, 5, 10*. Two lions are shown on *RM3*, their exact relation with Reshef being unclear. There is only one worshipper on the material on *RM2*. He is shown with his hand lifted in a gesture of adoration. Other gods that are shown with Reshef are Seth and Reᶜ-Harakhty (*RM2-3*).

The type is basically the same as on the reliefs. The figure with the horned animal is totally new (*RM1, 6*) and the lions are exceptional (*RM4*).

As far as the motif of the menacing Reshef with the shield is concerned, mention should be made of some comparative items:

(i) A MBIIB scarab published by Petrie (1917 pls XII:2.7, LXIV:29; cf Matouk 1971 15, 177:36, 1977 246, 369:2200 = *fig 24*) has a figure striding to the right, standing on a *nb*-sign. The figure wears the white crown with a large protruding uraeus and a short, knee-length kilt. It is brandishing a *ḫpš*-sword and holds a shield. The shield with a large curved top is seen from the side. There is an inscription (PN *ḫpr-kꜣ-rᶜ*) to the left of the figure.

(ii) Dating from the New Kingdom (1500-1100), the Fribourg scarab Matouk 5886 (Matouk 1977 179, 356:1585, 368:2166, 369:2198, 401:1610 = *fig 25*) shows a figure striding to the right, standing on the *nb*-sign with a twig between the legs. It wears a high headdress and a longer kilt. The right hand is raised; in the left hand is a large shield (shown from the side, with a strange shape). The figure is flanked by an upright uraeus on the left.

(iii) This figure with the raised hand and shield in front can be compared with three other steatite scarabs from 1650-1550 showing a striding figure: Petrie (1925 pl VI:988A; cf Matouk 1977 246, 369:2201), Fribourg SK 113 and Rockefeller I. 3803 (Rowe 1936 78 pl VIII no 298; cf Matouk 1977 246, 369:2916).[1]

---

1 The first scarab depicts a figure with a shield (rounded above) who is brandishing a weapon. To the left is a uraeus. The second scarab depicts a figure with one raised hand; the other figure is holding a shield (rounded like stela *RR8*).

2.1.2.2 The standing god (RM16-RM20)

Introduction

A distinction is made between the Reshef figure shown in a menacing pose with raised hand or brandishing his weapon (*RR1-15*) and other figures that may be related to Reshef - showing the figure in a non-violent pose, holding the weapon in reserve below the waist. First the cylinder seals are discussed (*RM16-17*) and then a scaraboid (*RM18*), a scarab (*RM19*) and an amulet (*RM20*).
With regard to *RM20*, it should be mentioned that the pottery mould[1] from Tel Qarnayim (IAA 76-999 = Ben-Arieh 1983; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 212-213 fig 37 = *fig 26*) is excluded here. It shows a naked female with bull horns, facing the front and standing on a horse. She is flanked by two smaller male figures. The one holds a battle-axe, the other stands with a feather. The centre figure can be identified as Qudshu (although she is usually depicted on the back of a

---

There is a twig between the legs and a bird with a long neck. The other scarab depicts a figure with one raised hand, while the other figure is holding a shield with wickerwork. The shield is curved away from the figure (cf stela *RR5* above, where the shield curves towards the figure!); on the left is a uraeus and a twig. Although the pose and shield are typical of Reshef and the weapon of the first example as well (the first two are without weapons in the raised hand), and the uraei may indicate that a god is involved, the headdress seems more like that of a human than that of a god. Lastly, mention should be made of three other scarabs with the same style (two from the same period and one from the Hyksos period) which depict a figure with a short kilt, the right arm hanging down and the left hand holding a shield with curved top: Hannover 1976.36 (published by Beste 1979 3,70-71), Fribourg Matouk 5887 (Matouk 1977 179, 356:1584, 369:2197, 401:1609) and a scarab in the Franciscanum Museum, Jerusalem (Niccacci 1980 pls 5, 12 no 168). The first figure has a conical headdress and stands on the *nb*-symbol; the second one is flanked by a uraeus on a *nb*-symbol and the sign *nfr* and the third one has a figure with an awkward-looking headdress flanked by uraei on a *nb*-sign on the left.

1 This mould was used to form or bake cakes in the form of the goddess, which were eaten by her worshippers (cf Jer 44:19 and Hos 3:1). Examples of these were found in the kitchen of Mari (Schroer 1987 277 figs 99-100; Winter 1987 568).

lion). On the inscribed triad stelae (*RR28*ff above) Qudshu is flanked by Min and Reshef. Schulman (1984a) identifies the figures with Baʿal and Reshef. It seems as if Weippert (1988 303) argues that the one figure can be identified as Reshef. The interpretation of Giveon (1986), that they are attendants and too small to be deities, is accepted.

Catalogue

RM16 Rockefeller J. 911. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell el-Husn/Beisan (Beth-Shean), tell room no 1021, level V, excavator's number 25.10.1021, southern temple of Ramesses, found in 1925[1].

Object: Serpentine cylinder seal, bored, greenish grey, green speckled with chevron borders, excellent condition, 5,2 (h) x 2,2 (d) cm. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Rowe 1929 55, 1936 252-253 pl XXVIII (top)* no S.61. *Literature*: Avi-Yonah 1975 216 (below left); Bossert 1951 no 958; Collon 1972 131, n33, 1987 154-155 no 684; Conrad 1971 165; Cook 1925 111-112 pl XXV:3; Digard 1975 no 1468; Fitzgerald in Thomas 1967 195; Frankfort 1939 289, 300 pl XLV:a; Giveon 1973 180; Johns 1933 46; Keel 1974 64 fig 27*; Mallon 1928 253-254 fig 4; Matthiae in Orthmann 1975 492-493 fig 433g; A Mazar 1978 12 fig 29; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 127:B40*; Nougayrol 1939 63-65 no CXXIX RB.7 pl VII*; Opificius 1969 108 pl II no 60; Parker 1949 13 pl IV no 30; *PM* VII 379; Pope 1970 188 fig 13*; Pritchard 1969b 113, 289 no 338; Roeder 1956 45; Rowe 1930 31-32 pl 34:4, 1940 22, 27-28, 81, 84 pl XXXV:4*, XXXVIII:3*; Schulman 1979 74; Seeden 1980 pl 138:16*; van Seters 1966 174 n10; Stadelmann 1967 74-75; Thompson 1970 44-45, 73, 149; Vincent 1928 528-532 fig 2; Yadin 1963 201*.

Description: On the right pharaoh Ramesses (identified by the cartouche) in a long dress with the blue crown (𓋘) and tassels behind his shoulder is shooting at a target with his bow.[2] Behind him is the Horus-falcon (Nougayrol) with protecting wings[3]

---

1 Rowe (1930 32) identifies this as a Baʿal temple (cf also Rowe 1940 22-23, Vincent and Nougayrol [64]).

2 On this motif, see Decker (1971 80ff) and Keel (1974 64ff).

3 Cf the protecting vultures or falcons in hunting and battle scenes from Egypt (Yadin 1963 192-193, 214-217, 232-233, 334-337; Hall 1986 figs 47, 49). They also occur on head-smiting scenes in the presence of the gods: Shoshenq (Keel 1974 figs 23-26, 1980b pl XXI) and Ramesses II (Yadin 232-233; Hall figs 55-56) and III (Keel 1980b fig 417a; Hall figs 64-65, 70-71); see also Schulman (1988 figs 10, 13, 17-18). Amenhotep II shoots at a target similar to the one on the seal from his chariot with a protective falcon hovering above

and a papyrus (𓇅). The target is in the form of a copper ingot on a stand and pierced by three arrows. Below are two Asiatic prisoners, tied to the legs of the target. The whole act[1] is performed in the presence of a god[2]. He is striding (left), dressed in a short decorated kilt with a flap and a corselet with bands over his shoulders. He has the white crown on his head, decorated with a gazelle head in front and with two thin streamers wrapped around the tip and hanging down. In his left hand, which is hanging down, is an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥). In his right hand, which he is holding out straight in front of him, he has the *ḫpš*-sword (𓌕)[3].

Identification: The figure on the left can be identified as Reshef (with Bossert, Pope, Vincent, Stadelmann, Rowe [1930], Giveon) according to the pose, clothing and especially the gazelle symbol. The sword is unique of Reshef. By holding out the *ḫpš*-sword, the god performs a symbolic act. This act serves as magical confirmation of the pharaoh's act. The god Reshef is here represented as a war-god (like Monthu or Amen in other material, see the footnotes), with the pharaoh symbolically destroying his enemies (Stadelmann 75). The god on the left cannot be Seth, nor Baʿal-Seth (contra Roeder, van Seters, Pritchard, *PM*, Matthiae, Cook, Nougayrol, Rowe 1936 252), because he is never shown with the gazelle symbol. The Seth animal shown by Rowe is not visible. An identification with Mekal (Schulman; Collon 1972) is also not possible, as he is shown sitting and has a different iconography (*fig 1* under *2.1.1.1*). [gazelle]

---

him (Pritchard 1969b no 390; Decker fig 15; Yadin 200). On the protective function of wings, see Keel (1980b 170ff).

1 Cf Keel (1974 figs 21a-b, 22, 23, 25, 26, 31, 47 and 1980b fig 417a, pl XXII); Hall (figs 45-46, 55-56, 64-65, 70-71) and Schulman (1988 figs 18-19). Here the pharaoh is performing the head-smiting act in the presence of deities (Amun-Reʿ and Monthu), who are holding out the *ḫpš*-sword towards him. For the head-smiting scene before Baʿal with the same sword, see *Cairo JE 88879* (below *BR3*). In contrast, the head-smiting scenes before Ptah do not show the god with the same sword; Ptah stands with the *wȝs*-sceptre (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 304-305 figs 76-81; Schulman 1988 figs 1-5, 7, 9-14). Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) and even queen Nefertete (!) perform the smiting act under the protective rays of the Aten (Hall 1986 figs 37, 39-40). For the handing over of the *ḫpš* and its meaning, see under *BR4* (*2.2.1.2*).

2 Opificius has two pharaohs, but this is impossible in the light of the previous note!

3 Rowe (1936) adds the Seth animal (𓃩) before the god in his line drawing (followed by Yadin), but this is not visible on the original, which is damaged at this point.

Inscription: Cartouche with the praenomen of Ramesses II: *wsr mꜣʿt rʿ* = "One powerful of truth is Reʿ."

RM17 Tel Aviv 82. Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology 82. Found with anthropoid coffins at Deir el-Balah.

Object: Steatite cylinder seal, bored, divided into three rectangular sections, 1,7 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Giveon 1973 179-180 fig 1*. *Literature*: Giveon 1985 2; Schulman 1979 83n50.

Description: Left rectangular: a figure strides to the right, with a white crown, decorated with a gazelle head (cf Giveon), a long beard (Asiatic?), dressed in a knee-length kilt. It is holding the *wꜣs*-sceptre (as on *RR32*) in the left hand, while the right hand hangs passively along the side[1]. In front stands a worshipper in a long dress with his hands in a gesture of praise (𓀁). The other two rectangles contain hieroglyphic signs.

Identification: The figure on the left can be identified as Reshef according to the comparative iconography of the inscribed stela *Cairo JE 86123* (*RR32*), where Reshef is positively identified by the accompanying inscription.[2] In addition, the gazelle head substantiates this interpretation. [gazelle]

Inscription: *njwt jmj-rꜣ ṯꜣtj pꜣ-sr* = "Overseer of the city, the vizier Paser"[3].

---

1 The hand is unclear, but cf *RR32*, where Reshef has an *ʿnḫ* in the second hand.

2 Rejected by Schulman because of the uncertainty in identifying the gazelle on the crown (Giveon's interpretation has been followed here) and the pose. The latter is irrelevant. Reshef is identified by the inscription on *RR32* where the iconography is exactly the same - that of a standing figure (non-violent) with a gazelle on the crown, a *wꜣs*-sceptre (and an additional *ʿnḫ*).

3 On the *PN*, see Giveon (179f).

RM18 Hazorea 174. Wilfried Israel Museum, Hazorea. Tell el-Fukhkhar (Acco), surface find.[1]

Object: Oblong scaraboid of black stone with back in form of human head[2], base linearly engraved, 2,2 (l) x 1,6 (w) x 1,1 (h) cm. *Date*: 19th dynasty (c 1300-1200).

Published: Giveon 1978b 90-96 figs 45a-46b (46a*). *Literature*: Hornung/Staehelin 1976 191; Leclant 1966 166; Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 298-299, 314-315 fig 118*.

Description: The figure in the centre is identified as Ptah (𓁰) in his usual iconography. Ptah is facing left[3] and standing on a pedestal which Giveon (92) compares with the pedestal on the so-called Baʿal stela from Ugarit (*BR1*). To his left is a winged goddess wearing a tight long skirt with net pattern, standing in front of an offering stand. It may be Astarte[4]. On the far left are: a sun-disk (☉), ibis (𓅞) and ram which shows her in her capacity as "Herrin der Tiere"[5]. To the far right stands a beardless figure without a distinct headdress. It is dressed in a short decorated kilt with two tassels in the middle. In the left hand is a quiver with arrows. The right hand is held in front, but without any weapon. Behind the figure is a lotus (𓆸) with a long stalk.

Identification: The identification of the figure on the right is problematic. As this is no worshipper, it could be some Canaanite god, possibly Reshef or Baʿal. It is identified as Seth or Baʿal-Seth by Giveon and Keel. This only takes into account the kilt. Baʿal and Baʿal-Seth are never shown with a quiver. The headdress is indistinct, but the quiver is typical of Reshef, as is known from many inscribed examples (eg *RR17-18*). The position - in the hand and not slung over the shoulder or on the back, is uncommon. So is the fact that the other hand is not raised brandishing a weapon. These may be exceptions to the rule. Although both Baʿal-Seth and Reshef

---

1 Giveon (94) places the origin of the seal in Memphis (*prw-nfr*). Keel argues for Ashqelon where both Ptah and Astarte had temples.

2 For other examples of such seals (called "Negro headed" [sic!] by Giveon), see Giveon (90ff) and Hornung/Staehelin (1976 191).

3 On the direction which Ptah faces, see Keel (in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 294).

4 She is known as the daughter of Ptah (Pritchard 1969a 17).

5 The reading of these as hieroglyphic signs for Thot and Amon-Reʿ does not make sense. Why would two such important gods only be represented by signs? This interpretation is also rejected by Giveon (92-93).

are represented in the company of Ptah on other inscribed stelae[1], it is believed that the quiver makes an identification with Reshef a stronger possibility. [quiver]

RM19 Fribourg SK 74. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Purchased.

Object: Scarab of steatite with sunken relief, figure very clearly visible, upper part slightly damaged, 2,26 (l) x 1,54 (w) x 0,9 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1400-1150.

Published: Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73-74, fig 98c.

Description: A male figure is shown striding to the right, standing on a double base-line. It wears the white crown with an indistinct symbol (unfortunately damaged). Two streamers are attached to the tip of the crown and hanging down behind it. There is an Egyptian-type beard and a knee-length kilt with tassels on the sides and in the middle. The figure holds a long hand-weapon[2] in reserve below the waist with the right hand as on *RR34*. In front is a large shield and spear. The shield is shown sideways with a sharply curved top.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the typical iconography of the figure of Reshef attested so far: Pose and weapons (shield and spear together!), although the symbol on the headdress is unclear. [shield/spear]

RM20 Athens 559. National Archaeological Museum (Department of Egyptian and Anatolian Antiquities), Athens. Provenance unknown.

Object: Stela shaped amulet of gilded bronze, 10,3 (h) x 4,3 (w) x 0,54 (t) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1190.

Published: Capart 1942 239-240 fig 18. *Literature:* Fulco 1976 16 (E34); Helck 1971 465 no 8; Leibovitch 1961 26; Schulman 1979 no 38, 1984a 74 note 2:5.

Description: Triad group: A goddess stands naked in the middle en face on a lion (striding to the right). She wears the Hathor headdress, feet pointing right, holding a lotus flower and what could be a serpent[3]. She is flanked by a bearded god on the left with a short kilt and a double-feathered headdress. On the right is a bearded, striding figure, facing left. It wears the white crown and a decorated, knee-length kilt

---

1 Ptah and Reshef are together on *RR1*. Note that there Reshef faces Ptah and stands with a shield and his weapon raised. Baʿal occurs with Ptah on *BR9* and *BM8*.

2 No parallel for this type of weapon could be found, but cf the weapons on the cylinder from Hazor (Yadin 1960 pl CLXII:2).

3 The remains of the tail are visible below the arm of the figure on the right-hand side.

with folded-over flap. Both figures have the right hand in front holding a spear or a staff, while the left hand is hanging down passively. The figures on the sides are standing on a small platform. There is an inscription on the back.

Identification: Qudshu[1] is in the centre and Onuris on the left. The figure on the right can be identified as Reshef according to the iconography, which is typical of this deity on the inscribed triad stelae (*RR29-30*). However, there is no attribute which is unique to Reshef. [?]

Inscription: *jr.n ḥsjj n nṯr nfr sš pr-ḥd nb tꜣwj ḥrmḥb-mnt* = "Made for the favourite of the good god (= king), the scribe of the treasury of the lord of the two lands, PN".

Synthesis

RM16-20 do not represent Reshef as a god with raised hand or brandishing his weapon, as on *RM1-15*, but:

(i) standing with his weapons in reserve (*RM18-20*),

(ii) with no weapons at all (*RM17*), or

(iii) with a symbolic weapon (*RM16*).

The *media* are: a serpentine (*RM16*) and steatite (*RM17*) cylinder, one with two sections (*RM17*), a human-headed scaraboid of black stone (*RM18*), a steatite scarab (*RM19*) and a gilded bronze amulet (*RM20*). All the items *date* from the period c 1400-1150.

The cylinder *RM16* comes from the temple of Ramesses at Beisan, the scaraboid (*RM18*) from the surface of Acco[2] and *RM17* from Deir el-Balah. The cylinder from Beisan (*RM16*) was found in a sanctuary and is connected with the Egyptian royal ideology. It depicts the pharaoh as the conqueror of foreign peoples by the grace of the god Reshef. The other cylinder (*RM17*) belonged to a high official. The scarabs and the amulet (*R18-20)* are protective amulets and were owned by private people; *RM20* was made for a royal scribe.

Of these items, almost every single one depicts the god in a different way. Mention has already been made of Reshef as a war-god support-

1 Cf above *RR28-31*.

2 Regarding the place where it was manufactured, opinions differ. Giveon argues for the harbour of Egyptian Memphis, but Keel proposes that it could also originate from Palestinian Ashqelon.

ing the act of the king (*RM16*). The god is adored by the official on *RM19* and shown in the presence of Ptah and Astarte(?) on *RM18*. He stands alone (*RM19*), or possibly in a triad with Onuris and Qudshu (*RM20*).

Although one item has the name of the pharaoh (*RM16*) and two have the PN and titles of officials (*RM17* and *20*), none has the name of the god. The identity of Reshef can therefore only be determined by looking at his comparative iconography. The gazelle head on *RM16* and 17 makes the identity positive, as Baʿal never has this symbol. *RM17*, again, can be compared with the inscribed *RR32*. *RM18* shows him with the quiver which has been interpreted as being unique to the god Reshef, but not to Baʿal (contra Giveon and Keel), which is the only other god that is a possible candidate. The shield and spear on *RM19* leave no doubt that Reshef is depicted. *RM20* can be compared with the inscribed triad stelae *RR29-30*.

The figure stands in a striding position and faces either right (*RM17*) or left (*RM16*, *18-20*). The headdress is, with the exception of the bald-headed figure on *RM18*, the white crown. There are gazelle heads on *RM16-17* and streamers on *RM16* and *RM19*. Unfortunately, the symbol on the crown of *RM19* is damaged and unidentifiable. Reshef has a beard in most cases (not on *RM18*). He wears the knee-length kilt, with tassels on *RM18-19*, respectively two thin ones between the legs and a single thicker one between the legs and on the sides. This is a new element on the seals, as it does not occur with the menacing figure (*2.1.2.1*) or the figure on the horned animal (*2.1.2.3*; *RM40* is somewhat uncertain). There is a decorated folded-over flap on *RM16* and *RM18*, *20*. On *RM16* there are also a belt and a corselet.

Although the figure is not brandishing his weapons, they are depicted: quiver on *RM18*, spear alone held in front on *RM20*. The typical shield and spear held together (viewed from the side with curve towards the figure) occur on *RM16*. New is the *ḫpš*-sword (𓌫) on *RM16*, which the god holds out to the king, but the *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) on *RM17* is known from *RR32*. The weapon held on *RM19* below the waist cannot be identified with certainty, but the figure is reminiscent of the one on the stela *RR34*.

It seems that the motif had two main functions: royal-ideological (*RM16*) and private-protective (*RM20*).

In addition, mention should also be made of the Late Bronze Cypriote cylinder seal (*fig 27*)[1] which shows striding figures. They wear the Egyptian white crown with horns in front, beard and a kilt with tassels below and also, in the case of the first figure, on the waist. The first figure holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre with missing top and thrusts downwards with a long spear of which only the upper part is visible. The second figure has a single long tassel hanging from the crown and holds a mace-axe below the waist and a bow in front. The tassels on the kilt, headdress with horns and second one with long streamer can belong to either Reshef or Baʿal. Leibovitch (1953) identifies the figure as Seth. This is possible for the first deity, who is holding a *wꜣs*-sceptre and thrusting downwards with his spear, as if he is attacking the Apophis serpent (*2.2.1.3* and *2.2.2.6*). The second figure with the bow in front of him and the mace-axe held below his waist (cf *RR28, RR33-34, RM19*[?]), is more typical of Reshef, although the bow is unique for this period. The bow is known from cylinder seals from the MB period (cf *figs 22-23*) and the Saite statue (*pl C* below). Baʿal-Seth is not known with a bow or mace-axe in this position. Conclusion: the second figure is possibly a representation of Reshef (with a certain degree of uncertainty); the first figure may be Baʿal. This depiction comes as no surprise, as Reshef is well-known on Cyprus, as indicated by later inscriptions (Fulco 1976 49ff and Schretter 1974 151ff).

In comparison to *RM20* and although none of them depict a triad or Reshef, mention should be made of the comparative clay and metal plaques and amulets depicting Qudshu (Negbi 1976 99ff; Winter 1987 113-114, figs 36ff). Especially important is the golden one from Minet el-Beida in the Louvre (AO 14714). On this one she stands on a lion and holds gazelles(!). There are serpents behind her back (Negbi 1976 100, 191 fig 119 pl 53 no 1701; Winter 1987 fig 40)[2]. MB cylinder

1 Published by Grdseloff (1942 16-20 pl III:a-b); cf Leibovitch (1942b 438ff figs 80-82; 1953 107 figs 7-8) and Seeden (1980 pl 138:21).

2 Cf the bronze plaquette from Tell Zafit (Keel/Küchler 1982 fig 545). The Hazor plaque (Negbi 192 pl 55 no 1706; Pritchard 1969b no 834; Yadin 1960

seals have the same figure on a lion holding horned animals; cf also the figure in the centre on the MB Cypriote cylinder (Schaeffer 1983 59:Chypre A 2) and the naked goddess holding horned animals and facing a menacing god with spear and streamer on the cylinder from the same period (Louvre AO 1857; Keel 1984b fig 19).

Mention has already been made of the clay mould from Tel Qarnayim (*fig 26*). Another depiction of Qudshu standing on a horse (instead of a lion) holding lotus flowers is on a gold plaque from Lachish (Usshishkin 1978 21 pl 8; Clamer 1980; cf Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 211-213 fig 36).

2.1.2.3 The god on/with the gazelle/horned animal (RM21-RM40)

Introduction

Under *2.1.2.1,* three examples were discussed where figures, identified as Reshef, are depicted with horned animals (*RM1* and *6*). When the medium of the scarab is studied, one misses the broader context or a group of figures as on the cylinders. As shown by Keel (in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 310), individual figures are often isolated and given a new, independent meaning on scarabs. This seems to have happened with Reshef as well. He is known as a menacing god, but depicted *with* horned animals on cylinders (*RM1*, *6*)[1].

On scarabs new motifs developed showing Reshef:

(i) *Standing on horned animals*, without raising his hand or weapon (*RM21-30*).

(ii) Other examples show Reshef *with* other animals (*RM31-38).*

(iii) In one case the figure is even doubled (*RM39*).

(iv) Another type shows him not standing on the animals, but among them (*RM40*).

---

pl CLXXXI; Schroer 1987 fig 46) does not depict a "goddess" with serpents, but is, as shown by M Tadmor (1989), a container in which snakes were kept.

1 Cf also the already mentioned Louvre AO 6268 (=*fig 23*).

Keel should receive the credit for being the first to identify the figure on the horned animal with Reshef (1980a 269). This is repeated in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990 204 and especially 302-304; cf now Dąbrowski 1991). Keel argues that the items published in the present study as *RM1* and *6*, form the missing link between the MB cylinder Louvre AO 6268 (*fig 23*) and the LB and IAI scarabs studied here. As stated earlier, AO 6268 can be connected with AO 4795 (*fig 22*), which identifies the figure with Nergal (= Canaanite Reshef)[1].

There is a large number of seals depicting Reshef on or with horned animals. In none of these cases the hooves of the animals are clear, but there are other elements that can help in identifying the animals. There seem to be at least four examples where the figure is shown standing on a gazelle (*RM21-25*). The other examples are more difficult to identify. Some of these animals have horns, distinguishing them from horses. In other cases the tail distinguishes them from horses and lions. Horses have long tails hanging down (*2.2.2.4*). Lions have tails which are clearly standing up (*2.2.2.3*). The legs of the animals are shown in two positions:

(i) couchant, that is folded in under the body when the animal is lying down[2],

(ii) or passant, that is when the animal is striding.

The items discussed in this section of the catalogue are divided into the following groups:

---

1 Although other deities stand on horned animals (Hrouda in *RlA* III 493b), no other Canaanite god is a possible candidate. Baʿal or Baʿal-Seth is never connected with the horned animal (but with the bull [*BM85*, *BS1*, *BM16*] and lion [*2.2.2.3*]). For the earlier periods there are deities with horned animals on Anatolian seals as shown by Özgüç (1979 280-281 with figs 3-5). The Old Babylonian god Amurru (Frankfort 1939 164 and Kupper 1961) stands with his foot on capridae, but this does not affect the sources discussed here.

2 In the cases where the animal is couchant and the horns are not clear, the animal should not be identified as a hare (or a rabbit). As shown by Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 280ff), the legs of hares are never depicted as folded in (cf especially on *RM28*).

(i) Reshef alone on a gazelle (*RM21-25*).

(ii) Reshef alone on other unidentified horned animals (*RM26-29)*.

(iii) *RM30* is an exception, depicting the god on a stag.

(iv) Reshef together with other animals (*RM31-40)*.

This group of scarabs differs from the previous groups. It has other figures and animals in addition to the figure on the animal. *RM32-39* show Reshef on the right on a horned animal, with two other animals on the left. These animals are not always very clear[1]. On *RM34* the animal in the lower left-hand corner looks like a dog, but on *RM36,* which depicts a similar motif, it looks more like a lion. This may indicate that the animal under discussion is indeed a lion. Two figures on two animals occur on *RM39*. Reshef is once shown not standing on, but *holding* a horned animal. In this case Reshef is also standing *with* other animals (*RM40*).

(v) Excluded here is another group where Reshef is shown on an animal next to Baᶜal-Seth on a lion. These are discussed under *2.2.2.3* as *BM57-62*, and with Baᶜal the bowman under *BM66-67*.[2]

---

1 Cf already the uncertainty of Dunand (1954 194).

2 The following items may also be related: Petrie (1930 pl XXXI:287 = Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 128 no 9); Starkey/Harding (1932 pl LXXIII:23); Petrie (1930 pl XXXI:304 = Shuval 126 no 5); Petrie (1928 pl XVII:44, 1930 pls XXXI:324, XLIII:537). Cf also Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 388-389 figs 96-98 and discussion on 394) and the following items: Starkey/Harding (1932 pl LXI:377 = Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 137 no 28); Macalister (1903 212 pl II, 1912 II 323 no 233, III pl ciii a:10 = Shuval 137 no 29); Rowe 1936 (225 SO. 26 pl XXV); Murray (in Tufnell 1953 364, 370 pl 44:80); Shuval (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 139 no 33); Loud (1948 pl 163:26 = Shuval 139 no 34) and Matouk 2711 (Matouk 1977 92, 340:413, 381:437; Keel 1980a 267 fig 77, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 196-197 fig 30; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 100 fig 059).

Catalogue

RM21 Byblos 7400. Beirut?[1] Byblos.

Object: Scarab of steatite[2], 1,5 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Dunand 1950 pl CC:7400, 1954 95. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1991 22, 24 fig 1h*; Keel 1980a 268 fig 79*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 199-200 fig 32a*.

Description: A figure with protruding horns[3], an Asiatic beard, a headdress with a streamer hanging down, a kilt, and arms hanging passively. It is facing right, standing with his legs apart on a couchant horned animal.

Identification: The figure is standing on an animal and is presumably a deity. Dunand identified it as Reshef because of the horns. The animal is definitely a gazelle with horns slightly curving backward and then bending forward.[4]The figure can be identified as Reshef standing on a gazelle due to the close relationship between Reshef and the gazelle. [gazelle]

RM22 IAA 73-49. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell el-Fukhkhar (Acco), stratigraphy unknown.

Object: Scarab of steatite, 1,13 (l) x 0,95 (w) x 0,65 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Giveon/Kertesz 1986 26-27* no 89. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 199-200 fig 32b*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 142 no 42*.

Description: A figure as on *RM21*, without a streamer and horns, one hand hanging passively down, while the other seems to be holding the neck of a gazelle.[5]

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef because of the gazelle, although there are no horns with the figure as on *RM21*. [gazelle]

---

1 The originals of the scarabs from Byblos could not be traced (L Badre).

2 Dunand describes the material of the Byblos scarabs as "pierre blanche".

3 It is not exactly certain whether these are gazelle or bull horns, as the figures on the seals are not very clear.

4 Cf the very clear depiction of the gazelle heads on the Reshef triad stelae *RR28-30*.

5 The drawing in Giveon/Kertesz depicts the horns incorrectly; these are identical to the horns on *RM21*!

RM23 IAA 73-65. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell el-Fukhkhar (Acco), stratigraphy unknown.

Object: Scarab of steatite, 1,5 (l) x 1,15 (w) x 0,7 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Giveon/Kertesz 1986 36-37* no 134. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 142 no 41* and Śliwa 1988 568.

Description: A figure on a gazelle (as on *RM22*) dressed in decorated garment, arms hanging down passively[1].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef on the gazelle. [gazelle]

RM24 MHQ 725 (facet 3). Haʿaretz Museum, Tel Aviv. Tell Qasile, stratum X, locus Q1.

Object: Pyramid-formed stamp seal of opaque glass, perforation in the upper half, 1,6 (h) cm. *Date*: IAI (Philistine = 1150-1000).

Published: B Mazar 1967 64-67 pls 4-5. *Literature*: Hestrin 1970 nos 27-29; A Mazar 1977 235f; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 123 no 1*.

Description[2]: A figure stands (as on *RM23*) on a reclining gazelle with front legs extended. The body of the animal is decorated.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef on the gazelle. [gazelle]

RM25 Fribourg SK 75. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Purchased in Jerusalem.

Object: Scarab of steatite with traces of blue-green glaze, base with sunken relief, 1,17 (l) x 0,87 (w) x 0,62 (h) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 199-200 fig 32c* pl XI:2.

Description: A figure on a gazelle (decorated), as on *RM22*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef on the gazelle. [gazelle]

RM26 Badari 1. Present location unknown. Badari tomb 5545.

Object: Blue glazed scarab, circa 1,3 (l) x 1 (w) cm. *Date*: 1500-1100.

Published: Brunton 1930 III 17, 35 pl XXXIV:20*. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 364.

---

1 Giveon's interpretation of the uraeus is incorrect (see Śliwa), as is Shuval's "eared".

2 For the other sides see Shuval (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 123) and Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 408). The base is discussed under *BM31*.

Description: A figure (cf *RM21*) with a conical headdress and horns, the arms hanging down; standing on a reclining animal with long horns.

Identification: Reshef on a horned animal, although the kind of animal is uncertain. [horned animal]

RM27 Keisan 6.280. Ecole Biblique Jerusalem. Tell Keisan, niveau 9a, locus 626, item no 6.280.

Object: Scarab of white steatite, deeply incised[1], 1,1 (l) x 0,76 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: 1050-950.

Published: Keel 1980a 267-269 no 10 pl 88:10*, 136, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 195* no 10 pl VII. *Literature*: Eggler 1992 172, 381 no 94*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 142 no 43*.

Description: A figure[2] (as on *RM22*) stands on a reclining animal with long horns[3], the front legs extended.

Identification: Reshef on a horned animal[4]. [horned animal]

RM28 Berkeley 2306. Pacific School of Religion Museum, Berkeley. Tell en-Nasbeh (Mizpah), tomb 32 N M2306.

Object: Caprid-scaraboid of white steatite, 2 (l) x 1,5 (w) x 0,7 (h) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: McCown 1947 I 149, 295 no 34 pl 54. *Literature*: Keel 1980a 267 fig 74*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 196-197 fig 27*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/-Uehlinger 1990 143 no 44*.

Description: (Side A). A figure (as on *RM23*) stands on a reclining animal with two long horns[5].

---

1 For a detailed analysis see Keel (1980a no 10).

2 According to Eggler the figure is holding something (sword?) in its right hand.

3 Shuval has "ears".

4 Although the front legs are like that of a hare/rabbit, the long horns make such an identification impossible.

5 At first glance the ears of the animal make it look like a hare or rabbit (McCown has "donkey (?)" or "hare", Shuval "long-eared"), but the legs are folded in, which makes an identification with a hare/rabbit impossible. The typical representation of the hare/rabbit is with the front legs not folded in, but extended forward (𓃹). This interpretation is convincingly discussed by Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 280ff); cf the discussion between Keel and

Identification: Reshef on a horned animal. [horned animal]

RM29 Institute of Archaeology E. VII 33/23. Institute of Archaeology, London. Tell el-Farʿah south, tomb 241.

Object: Steatite scarab, sunken relief (0,12 cm), 1,42 (l) x 1,12 (w) x 0,67 (h) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: Petrie 1930 pl XLIII:513*. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 141 no 40*.

Description: A figure (as on *RM25*) stands on a standing horned[1] animal.

Identification: Reshef standing on a horned animal. [horned animal]

RM30 Matouk 6662 (399) base. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Southern Palestine.

Object: Pyramid stamp seal of grey steatite, 1,8 (h), base 1,15 x 1,35 cm, with decoration. *Date*: 12th-11th centuries.

Published: Keel-Leu 1991 48-49 no 55; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 50 fig 60; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 125 no 3A*.

Description: Facet 1 and 3 depict a striding lion, facet 2 and 4 a standing figure with the animal head of Seth.[2] On the base is a figure (as on *RM22*) standing on a four-legged animal with two saw-toothed horns, which look like the antlers of a stag[3].

Identification: The human figure can be identified as Reshef on a horned animal. [horned animal]

RM31 Matouk 3218. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Unknown provenance.

Object: Steatite stamp seal in the form of a reclining lion with the head missing (Matouk 1977 386:664), bored; 1,7 (l) x 1,1 (w) x 1,5 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1200.

Published: Matouk 1977 169, 399:1512.

Shuval there (282ff). Moreover, no examples of a figure (ie deity) standing on a hare are known.

1 Shuval has "long-eared".

2 Both motifs of the lion and of Seth are quite interesting for the relationship that exists between Baʿal and Reshef. This can be seen on the group of seals where the two gods are depicted together (*BM57*ff); cf *RM31-40* for Reshef in the company of lions. On the close relationship between the lion and Baʿal, see *2.2.2.3*.

3 Keel/Uehlinger have stag or capride. For deities on stags see Özgüç (1979 fig 6). There is a detailed discussion in Keel-Leu (1991 49).

Description: To the right is a figure standing on a horned animal. On the left of the figure is a kneeling man with a bow and arrow, a sitting lion and a sun-disk (⊙) above.

Identification: The figure on the animal can be identified as Reshef[1]. [horned animal]

RM32 Byblos 8474. Beirut? Byblos.

Object: Steatite scarab, 1,7 (l) cm. *Date*: 1500-1100.

Published: Dunand 1950 pl CC:8474, 1954 194. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 100 fig 065*.

Description: A figure standing on a reclining horned animal, with the arms hanging passively down. On the left are two lions.

Identification: The figure on the horned animal can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM33 Berlin VA 15089b. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), destruction layer of stratum VIA.

Object: Scarab of brown-white steatite, 1,79 (l) x 1,35 (w) x 0,82 (h). *Date*: 11th century.

Published: Schumacher 1908 86, 89 fig 124 pl XXVII:f*. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 145 no 49*.

Description: See *RM32*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM34 Institute of Archaeology E. VII 59/39. Institute of Archaeology, London. Tell el-Farʿah south, tomb 229.

Object: Damaged steatite scarab with sunken relief, 1,62 (l) x 1,2 (w) x 0,64 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1150-1000.

---

1 See Keel (1977a) on the bow as symbol of royalty, with the additional discussion in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990 263ff). It is unclear whether the hunter may be related to Baʿal, the hunter with bow, who is shown standing on a lion on *BM66-68* below, in two of the cases with Reshef on an animal (*BM66-67*). However, the fact that the figure is not on the lion-pedestal, may indicate that a human hunter (ie the king) is meant here.

Published: Petrie 1930 pl XXXIX:439*. *Literature*: Keel 1980a 267 fig 75*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 196-197 fig 28*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 146 no 50*.

Description: See *RM32*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM35 Zaqaziq scarab. Present location unknown. Bought at Zaqaziq.

Object: Human-faced scaraboid of steatite, circa 2 (l) x 1,5 (w) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: Petrie 1906 pl XXXIII:67*.

Description: See *RM32*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM36 Ward scarab. Present location unknown. Purchased.

Object: Scarab, circa 2,1 (l) x 1,8 (w) cm. *Date*: 1500-1100.

Published: Ward 1902 111 pl XIV:165. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/-Uehlinger 1990 100 fig 067*.

Description: See *RM32*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM37 Newberry. Origin and present location unknown.

Object: Scarab, circa 2 (l) x 1,5 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Newberry 1908 194 pl XLII:33*. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/-Uehlinger 1990 100 fig 066*.

Description: See *RM32*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM38 Matouk 3196[1]. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Provenance unknown.

---

1 Parallels: Matouk 3216 is a scarab which depicts a figure with arms hanging down standing on a passant long-horned animal. On the figure's left is a lion (above) and another animal (lion?) with a human (shown on his side) between the animals. The figure on the animal could possibly be identified as Reshef. The following parallels in the same collection may also be noted: scarabs 3236, 3191, 3238 (= Matouk 1977 108, 385:642-644; cf Matouk 1977 401:1583) and a plaque 3224 (Matouk 178, 401:1585), none of which are

Object: Steatite scarab, bored, 1,8 (l) x 1,42 (w) x 0,9 (h) cm. *Date*: 1500-1100.
Published: Matouk 1977 178, 401:1584.
Description: See *RM32*.
Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef. [horned animal]

RM39 Matouk 3206. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Provenace unknown.
Object: Steatite scarab, bored, 1,5 (l) x 1,02 (w) x 0,59 (h) cm. *Date*: 1500-1100.
Published: Matouk 1977 113, 387:751. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/-Uehlinger 1990 fig 070*.
Description: Two figures are depicted, each standing with their arms passively hanging down on two reclining horned animals.
Identification: The figures can both be identified as Reshef. This is the only example of *two* figures on *two* horned animals. [horned animal]

RM40 Reitler 1. Wilfried Israel House, Kibbutz Hazorea. Bought in Gaza. *Object*: Amethyst scaraboid, 1,9 (l) x 1,4 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1200 (Giveon)[1].
Published: Reitler 1961 88-92 pl 7A. *Literature*: Conrad 1971 171-172; Giveon 1973 180, 1980 145, 149 pl XX:1; Mesnil du Buisson 1967 349, fig 3*; Schulman 1979 83n50; Welten in Galling 1977 108.
Description: A barefooted figure with the Egyptian white crown (𓋑), the symbol unclear[2], is facing right on a guilloche pattern. The figure wears a knee-length kilt with a large tassel or flower hanging down between the legs[3]. In the right hand is the Egyptian sign for life ☥ (*ʿnḫ*). In the lifted left hand the figure holds a caprid facing the figure. To the left of the figure is a small lion facing downwards and a

---

described in this catalogue. The clearest figure has been used as an example. For a bird on a horned animal, see Matouk 3202, shown with a human and other fauna (lion and scorpions). See also Matouk 3204 (Matouk 1977 196, 403:1732) for a small figure shown sideways (?) on a horned animal with two other figures on the left.

1 Reitler and Conrad date it in the Hyksos era (c 1600), Mesnil Du Buisson has the 12th dynasty (c 1800).

2 Contra Reitler and following Schulman.

3 Definitely not a large phallus as Reitler has it! A tassel between the legs is known from the seals *Fribourg SK 70* (*RM19*) and *Hazorea 174* (*RM18*) discussed above. Here it is a flower hanging from between his legs, but for which no clear parallels are known (also Schulman).

papyrus stalk. On the right is another (larger) rampant caprid[1], with its head turned away from the figure. Also depicted to the right of the figure is a flower.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef,[2] because of the relationship between Reshef and the horned animals (*RM21-39*). [horned animal]

Synthesis

It is remarkable that the motif of Reshef on the horned animal/gazelle studied here, does not occur on cylinder seals and on the stelae, but only on scarabs and stamp seals. What is even more interesting, is that the motif was not limited to Canaan and therefore typical Canaanite, but also known in Egypt (*RM26*, *RM35* [bought in Egypt]). Well-known Palestinian *sites* where depictions of this type have been found, are: Acco (*RM22-23*), Tell Qasile (*RM24*), Keisan (*RM27*), Mizpah (*RM28*), Megiddo (*RM33*) and Tell el-Farʿah south (*RM29* and *34*). The motif is thus attested in Egypt and the Levant as far north as Byblos (*RM21*, *32*). It was usually used on protective private amulets, as is indicated by the fact that many of the scarabs have holes and were carried on strings as amulets (eg the Matouk scarabs *RM31*, *39*).

The *dating* is interesting. The previous motifs (*2.1.2.1-2.1.2.2*) occur on items from the whole of the LB age. In this group are items with dates reaching into IAI as well.

The *forms* of the stamp seals are: pyramidal (*RM24*, *30*), human-headed (*RM35*), or in the form of a lion (*RM31*) and caprid (*RM28*). *RM24* is a pyramidal stamp seal, as is typical of the Philistine period (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 406). It comes from a well-known Philistine site (Hestrin 1970 7) and indicates that Reshef was worshipped by the Philistines. This contributes to the knowledge of their contemporary religious beliefs, of which so very little is known.

The *material* is mostly the more common steatite, but also opaque glass (*RM24*).

---

1 Neither of these horned animals is a gazelle. The horns are different from that of gazelles, namely folded back in the form of a bow.

2 Also Reitler, Giveon, Welten and Conrad, but not Schulman and Mesnil du Buisson. The latter identifies the figure with the Canaanite god ʿAṯtar. Reitler goes too far in interpreting the scene politically. He is followed by Conrad.

The seals are uninscribed, although *RM24* contains the name of Amon-Re' (*jmn-r'*) on facet 2 (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 408). The identification of the figure can therefore not be based on the inscriptions, but on comparative iconography, as has been spelled out in the *introduction* to this section.

The definition of the figures and the animals is sometimes very unclear and not much can therefore be said of their attributes. The figures all face right, but on *RM35* it looks as if the figure is facing left. None of the figures has a crown (!), except perhaps *RM21*, whereas a few have beards (*RM21, 25, 30*). *RM21* shows horns and a streamer at the back and *RM26* horns. No weapons or other symbols are depicted. The arms are mostly hanging passively, but on some of the items it looks as if the god is holding the animal by the neck or by the horn (*RM22, 25, 27, 29, 31*).

RM21-25 show the figure on what has been identified as a gazelle, while the other seals depict it on unidentified horned animals. The animal on *RM30* is perhaps a stag. The animals are couchant or passant. There is one lion on *RM31*, and two lions are shown on *RM32-38*.

Reshef is depicted with other deities (on the other sides of the pyramid seals), respectively the winged Ba'al-Seth (*RM24*, cf *BM31*) and the animal-headed Seth (*RM30*).

In short: the motif of Reshef standing on the horned animal or gazelle is unique to this Canaanite god.[1]

The item *RM40* is distinguished from the figure on the gazelle/horned animal. On this seal the figure does not stand on the

---

1 Fulco (1976 42n216a) mentions the possibility to connect the title *ršp ṣbi* (which occurs in the Ugaritic text *KTU* 1.91.15; cf Fulco 1976 42; Korpel 1990 499 and Miller 1973 21) with the Hebrew צְבִי (*ṣĕbî*) which can indicate a gazelle (Koehler/Baumgartner 1983 937a; cf Miller 1970 185). Is it possible that the Ugaritic refers to "Reshef of the gazelle", ie as he is depicted on the gazelle or horned animal? However, in Ugaritic it is written with an *aleph* and therefore to be identified with Hebrew צָבָא ("army" - cf Koehler/Baumgartner 933ff). The usual translation "Reshef of the army" (cf Mettinger 1982 134ff) still seems the best.

animals, but *holds* them, as a type of "Herr der Tiere"[1], ie the figure stands between animals. Because the motif only occurs on one item, an amethyst scaraboid of unknown provenance, which presumably originates from Palestine/Israel from 1500-1200, the detail need not be repeated. It shows Reshef as ruler over the fauna. The god is not protecting the animals against the lion (contra Giveon), as the lion is not endangering the other animals. It only emphazises the god's power over all animals.[2]

There may be some relationship between *RM40* and the other items, where Reshef is shown with other animals (especially lions which also occur here). This reflects his lordship over the wild animals, ie as "Herr der Tiere". In this capacity he is depicted on *RM40* as the giver of life (note the *ʿnḫ* that he is holding) and ruler over the lion and the horned animals.

---

1 On this motif, see Calmeyer (in *RlA* IV 334-335) and Keel (1978a 86ff).

2 Keel (1980b 50 figs 60-61) interprets two seals where the "Herr der Tiere" stands with his one foot on a horned animal and grabs an attacking lion, as protection against wild animals. It is believed that this only emphasizes his power over *all* animals (Cornelius 1989 58nn21-22). On a Neo-Assyrian cylinder (Keel 1978a fig 57) he stands with his leg on an ibex while grabbing ostriches. The purpose is clearly not to protect the ibex, as the ostrich is not the natural enemy, but only to emphasize his power over the fauna. The "Herr der Tiere" with ibexes is known from Palestinian IA scarabs (Keel 1978a figs 19a-20b). He is also lord over the domesticated animals (Keel 1980b 50 figs 60-61) and all the wild animals: lions (Keel 1978a figs 52-55), ostriches (Keel figs 33-46) or a lion, stag and wild oxen (Keel fig 70) and stag, lion and ostrich (Frankfort 1979 fig 159).

2.1.3 Bronzes

2.1.3.1 The menacing god (RB1-3)

Introduction

Many examples of small bronze standing warrior figurines from 1500-1000 BC come from Egypt, the Levant, Anatolia and the Aegean (see map in Seeden 1980 pl 118). The largest collections are in the Louvre and in Beirut. Many of these are shown in a menacing pose with raised hand (with or without weapons, but usually weaponless). These are coined the "smiting god"[1] by Collon (1972) or "standing armed figures" by Seeden (1980).

When the literature on the bronzes[2] and the iconography of Reshef and Baᶜal is surveyed, it seems that the views have either been too optimistic in identifying the figures, or too negative by refraining from any interpretation.[3]

In addition to the older, but important, study of Roeder on the Egyptian bronzes (1956 36ff, 108ff), very important studies by Collon (1972), Negbi (1970, 1976) and especially Seeden (1980) have appeared, which now make it possible to view the total corpus[4]. Unfortunately, the study of Negbi (1976) contains hardly any conclusions on the identification of the gods (cf also the criticism of Dever

---

1 On the "smiting goddess", see Falsone (1986).

2 Negbi (1976 3n5) and the bibliographies in Negbi (1976 XX-XXV) and Seeden (1980 160-163).

3 Baramki (1965 99-100 pl 5a); Bisno (1970); Bossert (1951 40); Burkert (1975); Petrie (1933 8); Schaeffer (1966a figs 7-12, 14); Stadelmann (1967 49-52, 71-72) and van Wijngaarden (1929 32) are too optimistic in identifying the figures. The view to be found in Matthiae (in Orthmann 1975 479-480) is more balanced. On the other hand, studies which elude any interpretation, eg Simpson (1960 72) and Fulco (1976 22), who devote very little attention to the theme, do not help either. Cf also Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 401).

4 Cf also the short summaries of Welten (in Galling 1977 104); and now Weippert (1988 310) and Fitzgerald (1989).

1979). Seeden goes further and publishes an exhaustive corpus of known standing armed figures. She also makes some important observations on their function, context and attributes and compares the bronzes with depictions on the seals and reliefs, but only identifies the types and not the individual figures (133ff). Her conclusion that Reshef and Baᶜal are the same gods (155) is unacceptable. It is believed that, although there was sometimes confusion in ancient times and deities could be syncretized, each deity had its own independent iconography. The gods Reshef and Baᶜal are seen as separate gods (as indicated by the inscriptions on the relief-stelae), each with a different iconography. In an important study as far as methodology is concerned, Moorey/Fleming (1984:79) regard attempts to identify the bronzes with specific deities as conjectural. However, it is believed that there are certain criteria that can be used in identifying such figures (cf also Cornelius in *Michmanîm*). It is hoped that this study will make a small contribution to the identification of some of these figures.

Before discussing the sources in this medium, a few important methodological observations should be made. The criteria for identifying a figure as Reshef are:

(i) *Inscription*: No example for the period under discussion has been found. In fact, most bronzes are uninscribed. Exceptions come from Egypt, such as the Saite figure discussed below (*pl C*).

(ii) *Pose*: As no sitting figures (see Negbi 1976 46ff) with weapons have been found, all items of this type have been excluded and only figures standing in a *menacing pose* have been described.

(iii) *Weapons and symbols*: Because both Baᶜal and Reshef are depicted as *menacing gods*, they can only be distinguished from each other by their weapons and symbols. Figures without weapons, which make the identification impossible, have therefore been excluded. The items studied so far have shown that Reshef is depicted with the hand-weapon and especially the shield, which is unique to him. Baᶜal is never shown with a shield, but both can have a mace or hand-weapon, which means that Seeden (1980 no 1815) could fit both gods. All figures with

shields have been seriously taken into account as possible representations of Reshef (cf Uehlinger in Görg/Lang 1991 880 on the Megiddo bronzes [*RB1-2*]). The goddesses Anat and Astarte are also shown with shields (cf *RR30* [lower register] and *figs 13, 14* above), but the sex of the figures studied here are clearly male and leaves no doubt that they are neither of the two goddesses.[1]

(iv) *Kilt and headdress*: This criterium has only been taken into account in connection with and after the previous three criteria, as there is no definite difference between the garb of Baᶜal and Reshef. The horns on the crown do not help much, as both Reshef and Baᶜal have bull horns (eg *RM21* and *BR1*). No gazelle horns (unique to Reshef) are found on the bronzes.

(v) It is of course logical that all *female* figurines (Falsone 1986; Negbi 1976 60ff) and *groups* (Negbi 1968, 1976 chapter I) have been excluded from the start.[2]

(vi) The same is true of sources *dating* from before the Late Bronze age, such as the Judeideh material (Seeden nos 1-3)

Using the methodological principles discussed in the previous paragraph, quite a few bronzes, which are sometimes identified as Reshef or connected with him, can be excluded:

(i) Berlin 12621 (Roeder 1956 35-36 pl 5f; Seeden 108 pl 101 no 1718), which Gressmann (1927 no 350), Cook (1925 116 pl XXVI:1) and Stadelmann (1967 52n3) connect with Reshef.

(ii) Hildesheim 46 (Ippel/Roeder 1921 117 no 46; Seeden 108 pl 101 no 1717), which is also connected with Reshef (Friedrich 1933 13; Ippel/Roeder; Roeder 1926 62n1; Stadelmann 51).

(iii) The bronze studied by Leibovitch (1939 159-160 pl XXI = Seeden 108 pl 101 no 1716), presently in Los Angeles.

---

1 The bronze Louvre AO 20160 (Seeden 1980 no 1724) is armed to the teeth, also with a shield. Deist (in Deist/le Roux 1987 60 fig 36 [left]) identifies it as Baᶜal, but the figure is clearly female and can be Anat or Astarte.

2 Eg Seeden no 1724 which is female, but taken to be male by Parrot (1952 51ff pl II and 1957 42-43 pl III fig 19).

(iv) The famous bronze from Minet el-Beida in the Louvre in Paris AO 11598 (Schaeffer 1929 288f pl LIII; Seeden 104 pls L, 97 no 1693; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 fig 2 = *fig 27a*), which is identified as Reshef (Bossert 1951 40 no 574; Friedrich 1933 13; Hansen 1957 ["Reshef"]; *PM* VII 382; Stadelmann 1967 50; Vanel 1965 104 fig 54).[1] There are no weapons and the crown can fit both Baᶜal and Reshef.

(v) Lachish 5333 (Tuffnell II 1940 66 pl XXVI:31-32; Keel/Küchler 1982 887, 889 fig 597; Seeden 110 pl 103 no 1727), which has a figure with no weapons and can be either Reshef or Baᶜal.

(vi) The University of East Anglia has a bronze (UEA 677) of a sitting figure, which is described as a "seated figure of god (?) Reshef". Although Reshef can be shown sitting, he is in this position with brandished weapons (*RR23-27*) and not without them.

(vii) For the same reason the Beisan bronze (Rowe 1930 32, 1936 191, 1940 22, 81 pls XXVB:9, LXVA:2; Johns 1933 46; Negbi 1976 171 no 1448), which shows a bearded sitting figure with the *wꜣs*-sceptre between his legs, is rejected.

(viii) In their important study on Phoenician art, Parrot and others (1977 figs 25, 69) identify two bronze figurines from Byblos and the Beqaᶜa as representations of Reshef. They also describe the figure on the hilt of the well-known Byblos dagger (62 fig 3) as Reshef. However, there are no attributes to substantiate this interpretation. Their fig 69 is a female war goddess (Seeden 1980 no 1723) and not Reshef.

(ix) In his study on the Philistines Brug (1985 187, cf 179 with figs 27a-b) connects the famous bronzes found by Schaeffer on Cyprus (1966) with Reshef. The "ingot god" (Seeden 1980 no 1794) has a shield, raised weapon and horns and is clearly more Syro-Palestinian than Aegean (Negbi 1976 39). Rather, the horns

---

1 Schaeffer (1939 pl XXXV:1) is more cautious and describes it as "Baᶜal (or Reshef)".

are typical of Baᶜal. Totally different is the "horned god" of more than half a metre high (Sandars 1978 pl V) which is some local Cypriote god and no Reshef.

(x) Damascus 112 (Seeden 1980 no 1750), which is one of the rare examples showing a figure with a collection of weapons (hand-weapon, quiver with arrows and bow), may be Reshef. As no example of Reshef with a bow in the period under discussion has been found, this seems uncertain.

(xi) Petrie (1933 8) studies two bronzes from Tell el-ᶜAjjul and identifies them as Reshef because of the attitude. They are only striding, are not menacing gods, and have no weapons to help in the identification.

(xii) The bronze studied in detail by Collon (1972 = Seeden 1980 no 1741) shows a figure with a spear which is reminiscent of Reshef with the spear. However, the figure is a rare example standing on a *lion*, which immediately excludes Reshef as a possible candidate.

(xiii) The figure on the right in the chariot group Louvre AO 22265 (Seeden 1980 no 1725) which Barnett (1964 72 fig 8) earlier connected with Reshef, may rather be Anat, as stated in a later study (Barnett 1969 410 pl VIB-C). According to Collon (1976 80-81) both figures are female; the larger one is a "weather god". For Seeden the larger figure is male.

(xiv) Also excluded are the four bronzes from the Saite period published by de Meulenaere (1949 10-14 figs 1-4; cf Simpson 1960 72). The figures look like Reshef according to their pose and weapons, but the faces are Bes-like and are typical of the many depictions of the syncretized Bes (cf Altenmüller in *LdÄ* I 1975 722). The inscriptions identify three of the figures with Amun-Reᶜ, Min-Horus and Harpocrates. Apparently, the artists no longer understood the original nature of Reshef in this late period. Reshef is connected with other gods, as is the case with the other Saite bronze, discussed below under the *synthesis* (*pl C*).

Catalogue

RB1 Rockefeller 1078. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem.Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), tomb 4.

Object: Bronze figurine with short tangs, 13 (h) cm. *Date*: circa 1350-1150.

Published: May 1935 33-34 pl XXXIV no 357. *Literature*: Bernhardt in Reicke/Rost 1966 1592*; Chouraqui 1983 III 465 (colour); Collon 1972 115-116 fig 2* no 16; Galling 1937 218-219 fig 4*; Gray 1969 81; Guy 1938 pl 153:8; Johns 1933 46 pl XVb; Keel 1980b 199 fig 300*; Matthiae 1962 61 pl XIX:1; Negbi 1970 pl B (below), 1976 165 pl 24 no 1359; Pritchard 1969b 169, 307 no 496; Seeden 1980 112 pl 104* no 1737; Uehlinger in Görg/Lang 1991 879-880 fig 4c*; Weippert 1988 310 fig 3.55:1*; Welten in Galling 1977 104 fig 30:6*.

Description: A figure is striding and has short tangs on the two feet. It wears a low conical crown with rounded top and a short, plain kilt. In the right hand the figure brandishes a weapon[1] which passes behind the crown[2]. In the left hand is a small rectangular shield with waisted sides, held by a strap or handle[3].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the pose, shield and brandished hand-weapon[4]. [shield]

RB2 OIC A. 18331. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), stratum VB, field number a 268, square 0/14, sanctuary BB, provenance S=2050 (OIC Megiddo expedition).

Object: Bronze figurine with tangs intact, 10,8 (h) cm. *Date*: 1050-1000.

Published: Loud 1948 pl 239:31. *Literature*: Collon 1972 115-116 fig 2* no 18; Davies 1986 77-78 pl 14; Dussaud 1949 71, 76 fig 45*; Hansen 1957 17; de Meulenaere 1949 15n36; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 134:C2; Negbi 1976 33, 165 fig 48* pl 24 no 1361; Pritchard 1969b 169, 307, no 494; Schofield in Thomas 1967 317; Seeden 1980 112 pl 104* no 1736.

---

1 Seeden has "sword", Welten has "sword(?)" and Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 401) calls it a "spear".

2 The weapon is bent, according to Seeden by accident.

3 The loop can be clearly seen on the photograph in Negbi. This shield is typically Asiatic in form. Cf the Michaelidis bronze of Anat published by Grdseloff (1942 20ff pl IV) with the same type of shield (Seeden 108 pl 102 no 1719).

4 *Biblical Archaeologist* 25/3 (1962) fig 1 calls it Baʿal.

Description: A figure is striding and has short tangs on the two feet. It wears a conical crown flanked with feathers[1] and a short plain kilt with bands crossing the breast[2]. In the right hand is a club-like weapon which is attached to the crown[3] in front. In the left hand, held downwards, is a small (Hittite) shield (Yadin 1963 13) in the form of a figure eight[4].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef[5] according to the pose and weapons, especially the shield. [shield]

RB3 REH-149. Reuben and Edith Hecht collection, University of Haifa. Sebaste (Samaria)[6].

Object: Bronze, 11 (h) x 5 (w) cm. *Date*: circa 13th-12th centuries.

Published: Cornelius in *Michmanîm*. *Literature*: Chouraqui 1983 IV 138-139 (colour); Lessing 1987 131 (below left), 380; Pritchard 1987 103 fig 7.

Description: A beardless, barefooted figure wears a conical helmet. The left foot is in front of the right one and tangs are on the feet. It is dressed in a short folded kilt. The right hand is raised and holds a club, while the left hand is holding an oval-shaped shield in front.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the pose and the shield[7]. [shield]

Synthesis

Three examples of bronze figurines have been identified as representing the god Reshef. They have a height of between 10 and 13 cm. The criteria for identifying the figure as Reshef have been the weapons, especially the *shield*, which is the only attribute which differentiates him from Baʿal.

---

1 Collon has "*ʒtf*-crown".

2 Are these the bands across the chest as on *RR7*?

3 The photograph in Negbi shows a break in the middle.

4 The position is awkward if it is kept in mind that the shield had a protective function, or is it only bent?

5 Loud calls it a human.

6 Pritchard gives as provenance Megiddo, but according to the records of the Hecht collection, the origin is Sebaste.

7 Pritchard has "Baʿal", but the shield makes this identification less likely.

Two of the examples come from organized excavations at Megiddo (*RB1-2*) and one is said to come from Samaria (*RB3*). One comes from a tomb (*RB1*) and another from what has been called a sanctuary (*RB2*).

The bronzes are votive offerings (Keel 1973; Negbi 1976 2 and Seeden 1980 152f), meant to protect the people that deposited the figurines. Many bronzes have tangs or pegs on the feet, which show that they were placed on some base, pedestal or stand (Weippert 1988 310). Some may have been carried as standards, as illustrated by an ivory inlay from Mari. It depicts a bull figurine[1] on a standard (Schaeffer 1966b 12 fig 9 = *fig 28*).[2]

The figurines are depicted in the menacing pose. In all cases the weapons are the only definite attributes that have survived: the shield and the hand-weapon. The shields are different in form. They are rectangular with a handle (*RB1*), 8-formed Hittite type (*RB2*) and oval (*RB3*). The brandished hand-weapons are brandished are not that clear - *RM2-3* look more like clubs than maces (no head is visible) and *RB1* is something between a sword and a mace-axe, but not a spear.

The figures wear conical headdresses, one resembling the Egyptian *ꜣtf*-crown (*RB2*). The dress is typical of a menacing god, namely the knee-length kilt. In one case the bands of the warrior (*RM2*?) and the folded-over flap (*RB3*) may be seen.

Because it contains the name of Reshef in the inscription, the bronze Louvre E 10486 (AF 587) (= *pl C*) of 13,2 (h) cm from the Saite period (c 665-525)[3] should receive more attention. It is newly published here. The figurine is barefoot, striding to the right, the left foot in front, standing on a base with an inscription on the sides. It reads: *ḏd.n ršp r mꜣꜥt sꜣt rꜥ dj(j) ꜥnḫ ḥr sꜣ ḥꜣpj* ... = "Reshef said to Maꜥat, the daughter of Reꜥ: I give life to Horus, the son of Hapi....". The face is that of a youth with the Horus child (Harpocrates) hairlock on the right

---

1 Is this reminiscent of the golden calf of Ex 32?

2 For standards see Welten (in Galling 1977 77ff).

3 First published by Roeder (1956 35, 108-109). See Burkert (1975 56, n28); Stadelmann (1967 72-73); Vigneau (1935 no 117B); and now Seeden (1980 144).

and no beard. On the head is the red crown of Egypt with a uraeus in front. The figurine wears a long decorated kilt, with part of the tail of a bird (falcon?) behind the figure.[1] The right fist is raised as if holding a weapon (lost); the hole where the shaft of the weapon passed through is clearly visible. On the back a quiver is suspended, fastened with a band hanging over the left shoulder. In front on the left side are: a shield, an arrow and a bow in the left hand. The figure can be identified as Reshef according to the inscription, pose and weapons. But the figure is syncretised with the Horus figure[2]. Many of the attributes were misunderstood in this late period[3].

The bronze figurines emphasize the warrior-aspect of Reshef. No other type (standing or riding/driving god or god on horned animal) has been found.

In the medium of pottery there are no depictions of Reshef. The coarse pottery figurine from Lachish (Tufnell 1940 pl XXVIII:2) can be anything from a human to a god, but there is nothing to indicate that this is Reshef. As stated above, the figures on the Tel Qarnayim mould (*fig 26*) are not gods. The warrior on the 7th-6th century Cyprus vase, published by Barnett (1964 62 pl IV:B), is not to be identified as Reshef (*2.2.3* [iv]).

Finally, mention should be made of the only example of a sculpture in the round depicting Reshef (MMA 39.2.215; Leibovitch 1939 159 pl XXII:1; Simpson 1951-52 183ff = *pl D*). This limestone statue dates from the late period, presumably from the 20th-26th dynasties (c 1150-600). It depicts a bearded god, wearing the white crown, with the head of a gazelle depicted on it. He is dressed in a kilt and stands in a menacing pose, with a small shield in front. The head of the hand-weapon is unclear.

---

1 For the Egyptian god Bes with the body of a falcon see Bonnet (1952 107 fig 37).

2 Vigneau has "a child deity" and Roeder (109) describes it as a youth form of Reshef. Horus was syncretized with many other gods; see Bonnet (1952 723ff).

3 Comparable to the bronzes studied by de Meulenaere (1949). This figure still retains much more of its Reshef-characteristics and is included under the Reshef items, while the other bronzes are not.

2.2 Baʿal

2.2.1 Reliefs

2.2.1.1 The menacing god (BR1-BR2)

Introduction

The first type of Baʿal figure is described as the *menacing god.* Baʿal either raises his fist or he lifts his weapon threateningly above his head. In both cases no enemy is depicted. Two examples from Ras Shamra-Ugarit are representative of this type.

Before discussing the iconographic sources, some observations on the methodology of identifying a figure as Baʿal should be made. In contrast to stelae depicting Reshef (*2.1.1*), there are not as many with inscriptions identifying the god as Baʿal. In fact, only one item has the name Baʿal on it, namely the Mami stela from Ugarit (*BR11*). The other reliefs with inscriptions identify the standing figure as Seth (the Egyptian form of the Canaanite Baʿal), but the attributes (the horns and the streamer on the headdress and the tassels on the kilt) are non-Egyptian and not typical for Seth. These attributes indicate that this is actually Baʿal (see *introduction* to *2.2.1.2*). The Egyptians identified Baʿal with their Egyptian storm-god Seth (Zandee 1963[1]), but each of these two deities has a unique iconography.

The identification of the Baʿal figure can, therefore, only be determined by way of comparative iconography. Three cylinder seals depicting a god with a raised hand-weapon contain the inscription *wardum ša* (d)*Addu* = "servant of Addu", namely two seals in the Pierpont Morgan collection (Porada 1948a nos 964E [= *fig 29*] and 965) and one in the Vorderasiatisches Museum in Berlin (VA 518 = Moortgat 1988 52, 132 pl 62 no 523). The name Addu also occurs on a cylinder that depicts the storm god with a lightning-fork raised in his right hand (Collon 1990 no

---

1 In the *Pyramid Texts* (Faulkner 1969 60 §261:247) Seth carries the title "lord of storm". For the identification of Seth with Baʿal see also Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 202, 308).

21 = *fig 30*). Addu was the Mesopotamian weather god, identified with Baʿal in the Levant[1].

This iconographic type of the weather god - with raised weapon - will serve as the model for identifying the Canaanite Baʿal[2].

Catalogue

BR1 Louvre AO 15775. Musée national du Louvre, Paris. Ras Shamra (Ugarit), found by Schaeffer on May 28, 1932[3].

Object: Stela of white limestone with rounded top, excellent condition, slightly damaged at the top[4], 142 (h) x 47-50 (w) x 28 (t) cm. *Date*: circa 1700-1400[5].

Published: Schaeffer 1933 122-123 pl XVI, 1949 chapter III pls XXIII-XXIV.

Literature: Albright 1950 31; Barnett 1964 68; Beyerlin 1975 230 fig 12*; Börker-Klähn 1982 238-239 no 284 (literature!); Bossert 1951 no 433; Caquot/Sznycer 1980 24 pl X; Collon 1986 100; Courtois 1979 1154 fig 907 left; Drower in *CAH* II/2 1975 153 pl 100; Dussaud 1935 410f, 1937 41 fig 15*, 1949 65, 66 fig 38*; Eissfeldt 1968 56 pl III; Frankfort 1979 256 pl 294; Friedrich 1933 9 pl 2 fig 3; Galling 1937 211 fig 3*, 214-215; Gese 1970 130-131 fig 7*; Gray 1964 230 pl 28, 1969 72; Helck 1971 449; Hillmann 1965 36ff fig 1; Hrouda in *RlA* III 491b, 492b; Jacob 1960 92 pl X; Jirku 1962 246; Kapelrud 1952 20ff; Keel 1980b 193-194 fig 291*; Kinet 1981 140-41 fig 7; King 1988 98*; Klengel 1965a 38*-39, Klengel et al 1989 222-223 fig 88*; Kühne 1980 65, 67 fig 10*; Leibovitch 1942b 439-440 fig 87*; Lessing 1987 126; Liebowitz 1978 29 pl VI; Matthiae 1962 68 pl XX; Matthiae in Orthmann 1975 484 fig 415; Montet 1931-1933 204 fig 4*; de Moor 1972 142f fig 42, 1990 135; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 148:5*; Mulder 1965 33; Otten in Reicke/Rost 1966 1953; Pritchard 1969b 168, 307 no 490; Parrot 1957 54-55 pl 5; Parrot et al

---

1 Addu (Edzard in Haussig 1965 135) is the Akkadian form of the weather god (written (d)IM, Sumerian IŠKUR), in Anatolia written (d)IŠKUR and (d)U, best known in the Hurrian form as Teshub (von Schuler in Haussig 1965 209). As known from the Amarna letters, (d)IM can be read Baʿal (Moran 1987 404, 410 and Pope in Haussig 1965 253). The Ugaritic pantheon lists *RS* 20.24 4ff (Nougayrol in Schaeffer 1968 44-45), and *KTU* 1.47 27 also equate Akkadian Addu with Canaanite Baʿal (*bʿl*).

2 Cf also the view of Koch (1988 203) that Baʿal inherited his iconography from the weather god.

3 Unfortunately there are problems with the stratigraphy, cf discussion in Börker-Klähn (1982 238).

4 Because it was exposed to rain.

5 Cf the synthesis for a detailed discussion on the chronology.

1977 figs 5, 80; Roeder 1956 45; Röllig in Görg/Lang 1991 223-224*; Röllig/Pope in Haussig 1965 232, 264 pl VII:fig 8; Saade 1978 133-135 fig 39; Schaeffer 1934 1-18 pl I, 1939 64 pl XXXII:2; Schroer in Keel/Schroer 1985 75n47; Seeden 1980 pl 136:1*; Smith 1962 178 fig 4; Stadelmann 1967 27f; Sznycer 1968 29 fig 2; Thomsen 1932-1933 336ff fig 10; Vanel 1965 82ff fig 38*; Weippert 1988 311 fig 3.55:5*; Welten in Galling 1977 103 fig 30:4*; Wiesner in Thimme et al 1980 180-181 fig 33b*; Williams-Forte 1983 30 fig 15*; Winter 1987 225 fig 202*; Wyatt 1983 275; Yadin 1963 223.

Description: A barefooted figure is striding to the right. It stands on the following pattern, twice repeated: a double base-line with a wavy line underneath it[1]. The figure has a long Asiatic beard hanging onto the chest[2] and is dressed in a short tight-fitting kilt decorated with horizontal lines and a small tassel on the left side. The kilt is fastened by a broad belt with a thin cord. A large curved dagger or sword hangs from the belt in a sheath[3]. The god wears a helmet with a sharp point, a pair of bull horns[4]

---

1 Some scholars identify these as mountains or water (cf discussion in Hillmann 1965 37ff). Giveon (1978 92) compares these with the pedestal on which Ptah is standing on the Accho seal (*RM18* above) but the similarity is not that great. If one insists on identifying the lines, it could be mountains as the weather god is shown striding over the mountains on seals (Weber 1920 no 448 and Williams-Forte 1985 fig 11). Cf for gods on mountains the figure of the Phoenician god Shadrapa on a lion striding over mountains (Pritchard 1969b no 486) and the figure on the Tell en-Nasbeh seal impression of a figure on a lion striding over mountains (Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 139 no 35).

2 Cf the bronze *BB1*.

3 Cf the sword of the Hittite warrior god from Boğazköy (Bittel 1976 figs 267-286) and the daggers on *BM9* and the bronzes *BB1-2*.

4 Cf the headdress of the goddess on the Ugaritic cylinder RS 5.089 = Louvre AO 17.242 (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983 16-17). On the horned caps of the Mesopotamian deities see Boehmer (in *RlA* III 466ff and IV 431ff) and van Buren (1943 318ff). These horns differ as they are set against the headdress (as on *BB1*). Unfortunately, only one example of a horned headdress/helmet survived from the ancient Near East. This is the much earlier helmet in the Borowski collection (Beran 1981 95-98), but the horns have a different form than those on the stela under discussion.

protruding from the front and two large curled locks[1] reach down to the chest. He raises the right hand and brandishes a club or mace above the head (the head is unclear where the stela is damaged). In the left hand the figure holds a spear, the sharp end pointing downwards and the top of the shaft spreading out into a plant.[2] In front of the deity stands a miniature figure with a long garment on a pedestal[3] (suspended in the air), with one hand in a gesture of praise.

---

1 These compare well with other material, eg on the seals *BM1*ff and the mug *BP1*; and even the bronze *BB2* below. Cf also the locks of the gods on the seals cited below as comparative items (cf Collon 1975 pls XXV-XXVI). The figure on the stela from near Sihan in Moab (*fig 39a*; cf Pritchard 1969b no 177; Warmenbol 1983 63ff) has a much longer single curl. That this is the figure's own curl of hair and not part of the headdress, is shown by the relief of the weather god slaying a serpent (Amiet 1977 fig 102; Keel 1980b fig 142; Uehlinger 1991 fig 5 = *fig 48* below).

2 Kapelrud describes the weapon as a stylized thunderbolt ending in a spear head (following Schaeffer 1939 64), but it is rather the other way around, namely a spear ending in a plant and not a "thunderbolt". Börker-Klähn describes it best by calling it a "...vegetabilen Abschluss..." and Mulder as: "...in een tak met bladeren uitlopendende lans". Schaeffer was the first to call the figure "Baʿal au foudre", a view followed by many scholars (if not the most - eg Caquot/Sznycer; Keel 1980b 194; King 1988 98; Klengel 1989 223; de Moor 1990 135; Röllig/Pope; Vanel 84; Weinfeld 1986 139; Weippert 312). However, it has nothing to do with lightning or flames (Helck and Welten). It is definitely not a trident (Stadelmann 28, cf on this below under the introduction to *2.2.2.1*). In fact, the weather god with *lightning* has a totally different iconography as is clear on the earlier and later depictions of the thunder god (Vanel 1965 figs 10-12, 14-16, 18-23, 27-29, 49, 51, 63, 65-68, 70-78) where he is holding a definite thunderbolt (cf *fig 30*). In addition to the comparative material depicting the weather god with this plant-like weapon (noted below), mention should be made of the figures with the plant/tree alone, studied by Keel (in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 259ff, especially figs 65-75; cf also Collon 1982 no 22 and Schaeffer-Forrer 1983 29 [above]). These indicate that the weapon is clearly of a plant-like type (also Williams-Forte 30 and Lambert 1985), comparable to the plant spear that is used to kill the serpent on MB seals (Keel 265 fig 66 and Williams-Forte 1983 figs 7-10 and *2.2.2.5* with *fig 50* below). Schaeffer-Forrer (1983 62 below:Chypre A9) depicts a menacing god with a club and a plant.

3 It is presumed that this is a human being (the king who dedicated the stela?). Cf Galling (214) and also Contenau and Wiesner. This can definitely not be his subdued adversaries Yam or Mot. The size of the figure indicates someone of

Identification: The horns identify the figure as a god (Boehmer in *RlA* III 466ff and IV 431ff; van Buren 1943 318ff)[1]. When compared with the weather god[2] on the inscribed *fig 29* noted above, it can only be the local form of the weather god[3]. Here he carries a plant spear which is an unique attribute. The weather god is known as Baᶜal in Canaan.[4] [plant spear]

BR2 Aleppo. National Museum Aleppo? Ras Shamra (Ugarit), found 1961.

Object: Stone stela in the form of an anchor, with rounded top, lightly incised, figure set in a niche(?). *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Schaeffer 1961-1962 190 fig 4 (above). *Literature*: Börker-Klähn 1982 241 no 289*; Culican 1970 30; Negbi 1976 31; Seeden 1980 pl 136:4*.

Description: A figure is striding barefooted to the left. It wears the Egyptian white crown and an Asiatic beard. There is a collar around the neck. The deity wears a short, striped kilt with a border and a tassel between the legs. The left hand is raised, but

---

subordinate status (Wyatt). For human worshippers on pedestals cf the seals in Keel (1980a figs 63-64). Williams-Forte and Frankfort (1979 257, 396n58) propose that this is a goddess, but in that case - why is the figure so small? The garment with rolled borders is more typical of a ruler (see the detailed study of Schroer in Keel/Schroer 1985 51ff and cf the figure on the LB/MB Hazor plaque [Yadin 1961 pl CCCXXXIX:1; Pritchard 1969b no 772 = Schroer fig 30]).

1 Humans can also wear such headdresses, but the examples are rare and limited to king Naram-Sin of Akkad (which according to Barnett has more to do with him as a bull-hunter than with his divinity) and Puzur-Ishtar, governor of Mari (Barnett in Garelli 1974 441 pls IV-V).

2 This excludes Reshef (contra Liebowitz) who has a totally different iconography (no plant-like spear) and who is not a weather god (Fulco 1976 71).

3 On the weather god see the studies of Demircioğlu (1939); Hillmann (1965) and Vanel (1965) and now Williams-Forte (1983).

4 As already identified by the excavator. While Seeden (147) is negative on the identification and Börker-Klähn indefinite, some scholars try to identify the figure as Baᶜal-Zaphon (Stadelmann and Matthiae 1975). However, it should be kept in mind that this stela is uninscribed and that there are seven Baals at Ugarit (*KTU* 1.47 5-11; cf Gese 129-130), Baᶜal-Zaphon is only one of them. The only definite figure of Baᶜal of Zaphon is on the Mami stela (*BR11* below) which is devoted to Baᶜal-Zaphon in the inscription.

without brandishing a weapon. The right hand is holding a spear resting on the ground, with the point facing upwards.[1]

Identification: The figure can possibly be identified as Baᶜal. No Reshef with raised hand and spear alone in front is known. Reshef occurs on the Qudshu stelae with a spear, but without a shield (eg *RR28-31*). His hand is not raised (cf also with *RR33*). [?]

Synthesis

Although the exact spot at which *BR1* was found, is unknown, this large limestone stela with rounded top is one of the best-known treasures from the excavations at Ugarit. Its size (142 cm high) when compared to the Reshef stela studied earlier (67 cm for *RR12* and 75 cm for *RR30*) indicates that it is not a private monument, but an official stela that functioned in the cult of Baᶜal at Ugarit.

Due to the hazardous stratigraphy, the stela can only be *dated* on stylistic criteria. The excavator Schaeffer dates it in the period 1900-1750. Albright prefers 1650-1500 and is followed by Vanel. Stadelmann (28n1) prefers a date after 1500. Since then, the opinions seem to have changed in favour of an earlier date, Matthiae (in Orthmann) proposes 1700-1650 and Kühne suggests the Old Syrian period (c 2000-1530). Börker-Klähn takes up the whole discussion and concludes that the dating is uncertain, but nevertheless argues for a later date. The terminus ante quem is 1700. There are analogies to the Alalakh IV seals, as well as Anatolian and Mycenaean sources (after 1700), which means that the stela could be dated later. It is believed that the stela can be dated in the LB age, although the terminus a quo may lie in the MB period. The stela contains a mixture of Syrian, Egyptian and Hittite styles (cf also Frankfort 1979 256 and Liebowitz 1978 29) typical of the Late Bronze Age:

(i) The *gesture* is related to that of the "smiting pharaoh" (Hall 1986) and the scene is executed on a typical Egyptian stela of which many examples from the Levant (especially of the LB period) are known

---

1 Very similar to this figure, Baᶜal is shown with a raised *ḫpš*-sword and spear in front on the Beitin cylinder (*BM 7*).

(cf Welten in Galling 1977 323-324 and the stelae from Beisan in Rowe 1930 pls 41-50), the composition being well ordered.

(ii) The body of the god (especially the legs and kilt) and its curved weapon remind one of the 14th century warrior god of Boğazköy (Akurgal/Hirmer 1961 pls 64-65, cf 50-51; Bittel 1976 figs 267-268).

(iii) The headdress with curled locks calls to mind the headdress of the weather god on the Alalakh seal impressions and cylinders of level IV (Collon 1975 pl XXVI:216, 215, 213 [*BM2* below] and 219), although there are also analogies with the Syrian weather gods on seals from 1750-1550 (Collon 1975 pl XXV, 1982 nos 20-21; Vanel 1965 177 and Winter 1987 figs 201, 205). The closest parallel to this stela is a cylinder seal[1], also from Ras Shamra (from a dated stratum, 1600-1350 [*RS 9273* - discussed below as *BM5*]). Anatolian weather gods from the 12th-10th centuries are depicted with locks (Pritchard 1969b nos 532 and 611).

(iv) The smaller figure on the pedestal below has its closest parallel in the figure on a plaque from a LB context (Yadin 1958 pl CCXXXIX:1-2 = Schroer in Keel/Schroer 1985 75 fig 30; cf Liebowitz 1978 29), but can also be dated in the MB period (Beck 1983 80; Schroer 1985 74-75).

Scores of comparative depictions exist for the figure on *BR1*, mostly in the medium of the cylinder seal. There are the items *BM1-16* (*2.2.2.1*) and the comparative items cited there.

The figure of Baʿal with horns and a plant-like spear also occurs on the much discussed Phoenician seal from Ibiza (Culican 1960-1961 pl I fig 1a = *fig 31*). Here he uses the tree as a weapon to smite his enemy. For later examples of Baʿal with a weapon resting on his shoulder and holding the plant-spear as a sceptre, see Gubel (1980 pls II:2, II:4 = *figs 31a-b*). The Baʿal-Melqart stela from 850 (Börker-Klähn 1982 no 300; Deist 1982 133 fig 85 = *fig 31c*) depicts a figure with a similar battle-axe with curved blade resting on its left shoulder (cf Culican 1960-1961 pl I:figs 1b, 1g-

1 Connected with the stela by Vanel (1965 82).

h). The inscription identifies the figure as Baʿal-Melqart, the lord of Tyre (*KAI* 47:1). In addition, a statue from Zinčirli depicts a figure with a horned headdress (Welten in Galling 1977:fig 30:12 =*fig 31d*). The god is identified as Hadad by the Aramaic inscription (*KAI* 214). Hadad is another name for Baʿal. In addition to the MB menacing god on *fig 29*, there is another with a raised weapon and holding a tree as a sceptre (Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 263, 265 fig 67 =*fig 32*). The best parallel for stela *BR1* is still the cylinder *BM5* (below).

On *BR1* Baʿal is not holding a bolt of thunder or lightning, but rather a plant or tree-like weapon with which he strikes down the serpent (*fig 50* below and Williams-Forte 1983 figs 7-10). In the texts from Ugarit, Baʿal is described as a god who possesses lightning and thunder (*KTU* 1.3 III 23, 1.101 obv 3-4) and he is the bringer of rain and fertility (*KTU* 1.4 VII 29-31 and 1.16 III 5ff)[1]. However, thunder or lightning is not depicted on *BR1*. The only relationship with fertility is the vegetative top of his weapon[2]. It is remarkable that not one definite depiction of Baʿal with lightning (as with Addu on *fig 30*) could be traced, not even on the seals (*2.2.2*). More typical of Baʿal is the menacing figure with raised hand/weapon and tree/spear (*BR1-2, BM1-16)*.

The name "Baʿal-Zaphon" for the figure on *BR1* (as in Stadelmann 1967 27-28) is too specific, as this denotes a specific Baʿal type known from the texts (Pope in Haussig 1965 257), but only depicted (and named!) once, namely on *BR11* below. What is depicted on *BR1* is rather Baʿal as a victorious warrior god. This compares well with the textual descriptions in the Ugaritic texts: Baʿal conquers cities (*KTU* 1.4 VII 5-12). He threatens his enemy (Mot?) with the *arz* or "cedar pole" (de Moor 1987 64; cf Gray 1969 72) in his right hand (*KTU* 1.4 VII 41)[3]. Baʿal bashes the skull of his other enemy, the river judge Yam, with his

1 Cf now also the bilingual Akkadian-Aramaic Tell Fekheryeh inscription (Abou-Assaf et al 1982) from the 9th century where Hadad is described as the "regulator of the waters of heaven and earth" (Millard/Bordreuil 1982 137). In Egypt the battle cry of the pharaohs was "like Baʿal in the heavens" (Pritchard 1969a 249).

2 With its MB plant/tree predecessors as noted above.

3 An Egyptian text has "Baʿal smites thee with the cedar tree which is in his hand" (Pritchard 1969a 249).

weapon (*KTU* 1.2 IV)[1]. The bull horns are typical of Baᶜal (cf *synthesis* to *2.2.1.3*). In the vision of Baᶜal (*KTU* 1.101 obv 6), the god has horns (*qrn*, cf also 1.12 II 39 [*qrnh*]).

The stela *BR2* depicts Baᶜal in his typical pose with a raised hand. The spear is held in front of him as depicted on some cylinder seals (*BM7, 12, 14*). The tassels between the legs are not shown on *BR1*. He has an Asiatic beard, but the headdress is different from *BR1*.

The motif of the menacing Baᶜal is not known from Egyptian reliefs although this motif was well-known on earlier (*fig 33*), later (*fig 31*) and contemporary seals (*2.2.2.1*) from Western Asia. A MB seal impression from Ebla (Matthiae 1969; Keel 1980b fig 290 = *fig 33*) depicts Baᶜal with a pointed horned headdress, brandishing a mace in a menacing way. To his left is a worshipper and between them a large Egyptian ☥ (= *ᶜnḫ*) and a bull on a pedestal (symbol of Baᶜal). Behind Baᶜal stands Ishtar/Astarte with the dove symbol and a star, holding another smaller *ᶜnḫ*. Above hovers a winged sun-disk ( ) as on *BM5*[2].

2.2.1.2 The standing god (BR3-BR16)

Introduction

A distinction should be made between the items depicting Baᶜal:

(i) with a brandished weapon (*BR1-2*),

(ii) with the *ḫpš*-sword (*BR3-4*) and

(iii) without any weapons (*BR5-16*).

After presenting the items that show Baᶜal in the company of worshippers and other deities (*BR5-13*), three items which may show him in a triad (with Qudshu in the centre) are discussed (*BR14-16*).

---

1 Görg (in Görg/Lang 1991 225) proposes that the Hebrew בַּעַל זְבוּב (*baᶜal zĕbûb*) could be connected with Egyptian *ṯbb*. For a different etymology, see Fensham (1967) who connects it with Ugaritic *ḏbb* ("flame").

2 Cf also the MB seals from Ugarit (Schaeffer-Forrer 1983 22, 25, 52, 54, cf 57, 62, 69) and from Alalakh (Collon 1975 pls XXV:32, 40, 44 and XXVI:213, 215-216, 219).

Item *BR11*, inscribed with the name Baʿal-Zaphon, identifies the figure clearly. The figure on this item compares well with the other items from Egypt and elsewhere containing the name "Seth" (*BR5-6, 8-10, 12-13*). The figures on these Egyptian items (ie excluding *BR11*) are usually described as Seth[1]. However, there is nothing to indicate that it is actually this deity. In this study, the term "Seth" is used for the figure with the Seth animal head (as on *RR34*, *RM2*-3; cf Pritchard 1969b no 573:28; te Velde 1977 pls Iff; Vincent 1928 pl XXIV:1-4).[2] These figures can be distinguished from the anthropomorphic figure with definite *Asiatic* attributes that is identified with the Canaanite "Baʿal". Although Baʿal and Seth are identified with each other in the New Kingdom (Stadelmann 1967 32ff and te Velde 1977 109ff[3]), and the name Baʿal is always written with the determinative Seth animal (𓃩)[4], the iconography of these two gods is different. *BM22*, which is unique and exceptional, but nevertheless important and cannot be ignored, depicts the two gods together, but each with a separate iconography.

On the other hand, in this study, the term "Baʿal-Seth" is used where Baʿal and Seth are depicted in hybrid form, mixing Egyptian and

---

1 Cf for example on *BR5* against Schulman (1979 81n10), who sees the god as a representation of the Egyptian Seth. Helck and Stadelmann describe the figure as Baʿal-Seth (*PM* VII 23 have "Syrian Seth"). The same is true of the figure on *BR3* which is described as Seth (Schulman 1988 22-23 and Habachi 1954 507ff) or Seth in "Asiatic form" (te Velde 1977 134). But it is actually Baʿal (cf also on *BR12* and *13*). Although there is no absolute distinction between the Egyptian Seth with an animal head and the Canaanite Seth with a human head (te Velde 1977 126-127n2), the figure is not Egyptian, but depicted as a Canaanite god. Cf also the god on the Mami stela from Ugarit (*BR11*) who is extremely similar to this one and categorically identified as *Baʿal* by the inscription.

2 Seth is also depicted anthropomorphically (ie with a human head as in Keel 1980b fig 332 [above second from the left]; te Velde 1977 pl VIII:2) or with the head of a falcon (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 316, 318-319 figs 94-95; te Velde 1977 pls VIII:2 and IX).

3 Te Velde (1977 126) says: "...not a single image of Baʿal has been found in Egypt, in which he is not also Seth".

4 *BR11* and Erman/Grapow (1982 I 447:10); cf also Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 308).

Canaanite elements. There are items which show a Canaanite god, with streamer and bull horns, but also with wings (which is unknown for the Canaanite Baʿal) as on depictions of the serpent slayer (*BR17-18* and the seals *2.2.2.2-2.2.2.5* below). These items are described as *Baʿal-Seth* to distinguish them from the (more) Canaanite *Baʿal* depictions.

Exluded here are two other well-known stelae from Ugarit (Börker-Klähn 1982 239-240 no 285 and 240 no 287) which are sometimes interpreted as representing Baʿal (eg Hrouda in *RlA* III 429b-493a). However, the figures are probably representations of royalty[1].

The Baluʿa stela mentioned under *2.1.1.2* (above *fig 6*) depicts three figures, presumably a king in the centre, flanked by a goddess and god (left). The god on the left could be identified as Baʿal (eg Gray 1969 73),

---

1 Louvre AO 13174 (Börker-Klähn 1982 239-240 no 285 with literature, add now Schroer [in Keel in Keel/Leu/Schroer 1989 171 fig 0158], and see the photograph in Caquot/Sznycer 1980 pl XI) shows a beardless figure. It wears Hittite shoes with upturned toes pointing to the right, a kilt and a dagger as on *BR1*. The figure wears a large feathered/plumed (plant-like?) headdress with a protruding object (which Börker-Klähn describes as a misunderstood uraeus (?); this is definitely no single horn). Around the neck is a torque. The figure holds a crooked staff in the right hand. In the left hand is a spear with the sharp point showing upwards. As with *BR1*, the dating is unclear. Schaeffer identifies the figure as Baʿal (followed by Friedrich 1933 9; Galling 1937 211ff; Stadelmann 1967 30 and recently Schroer, who describes it as the "Palm Baʿal"). There is nothing specifically divine to the figure and it may be a king (Börker-Klähn - cf next item). The stratigraphy of the next stela is also unclear (Börker-Klähn 240 no 287 with literature, cf photograph in Pritchard 1969b no 489). It shows a figure clothed in a short kilt, striding to the right, one sandal is visible. On the waist is a sword as on *BR1*. A bracelet is around the neck. The headdress is only partly visible and has an unclear single horn (?) (Börker-Klähn describes this as reworked from a uraeus; it is definitely different from the horns on *BR1*). One arm brandishes a weapon which is not clear; the left hand holds what can be a *wȝs*-sceptre (?) or spear (?), or a bow (Börker-Klähn). Above, to the right may have been an Egyptian cartouche with Egyptian *ʿnḫ* below it. There is nothing specifically divine to this figure (it is definitely not Mot as Schaeffer 1949 93ff says - cf Stadelmann 1967 29 and now also Williams-Forte 1983 36). The view of Börker-Klähn, that this is an Egyptian-style king is accepted, the identification being more certain than the first item (cf the cartouche [?] and the stela of the queen, Börker-Klähn no 286).

but the only attribute which agrees with the inscribed items depicting Baᶜal is the *wꜣs*-sceptre. This sceptre is common to all Egyptian gods (including the Canaanite Reshef, cf *RR32* and *RM17*). There are no attributes to definitely identify the god.

Finally, before presenting depictions of the standing Baᶜal figure, mention should be made of the lost "Job-stela" from the time of Ramesses II from Sheikh-Saᶜd (Karnaim) in Transjordan (*PM* VII 383; de Moor 1990 126n117; Gressmann pl XLV no 103 = *fig 34*). On the left it depicts a figure with a crown which looks un-Egyptian. The item is inscribed. Stadelmann (1967 46) proposes "Aliyan Baᶜal Zaphon" for the hieroglyphic inscription, but Giveon's (1965 198) and de Moor's (1990 126) reading is more acceptable, namely *jr kꜣnj ḏꜣpꜣn* (Canaanite *ʾl kn ṣpn)* = "Ilu creator of Zaphon" or "Ilu establishes Zaphon". This shows that *Ilu* is represented and not Baᶜal.

Catalogue

BR3 Cairo JE 88879. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Qantir.

Object: Stela of sandstone, 90 (h) x 40 (w) cm with rounded top, outlined, scene in sunken relief, inscription incised. *Date:* 1194-1163 (Ramesses III).

Published: Habachi 1954 507-514 pl XXIX.

Literature: Schulman 1988 22-23, 58 fig 8*; Vandier 1969 189; te Velde 1977 134 pl XI.

Description: To the right of the image the king is performing the "smiting act"[1]. He is wearing the blue *ḫprš* (𓋙) crown (with streamers!) and attacking two enemies with the *ḫpš*-sword (𓌕) in his left hand. While grabbing the enemies by their hair, he holds a bow in his right hand. The enemies have their hands in a gesture (𓀣) of warding off evil as is known from many other "smiting scenes" (Keel 1974 99ff figs 47ff, 1980b fig 417a). To the left is a figure, facing right. It is beardless and has the white crown (𓋑) on the head, with a long streamer ending in a flower (cf *BR5*). The kilt is decorated and has tassels (two between the legs and three on the one side). The left hand holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀). The other hand holds out a *ḫpš*-sword towards the king[2]. Above the king's head is a sun-disk with two portruding uraei (𓇳) and an inscription. Below the relief is a long inscription.

---

1 Cf also the literature and sources cited under cylinder *RM16* (above).

2 On the symbolism and the sword involved, see under *RM16* (above) and *synthesis* (below).

Identification: The figure on the left can only be a god, since only Egyptian gods present the symbolic sword (cf notes to *RM16* and below). However, the god is not Amun or Montu, but can be identified as Baʿal or Reshef (note the Asiatic streamer and tassels). The sceptre (*RR32*, *RM17*) and *ḫpš*-sword (*RM16*) are typical of both Baʿal and Reshef. It is not impossible that Reshef is depicted here. However, Baʿal is a stronger possibility, as in the Ramesside period Reshef was replaced by Baʿal-Seth as royal god (cf Stadelmann 1967 43). The iconography of the figure is more typical of the divine figures on the next series of inscribed items (*BR5*ff)[1]. A further argument is that of all the pharaohs of Egypt, the inscriptions of Ramses III contain the greatest number of references to Baʿal. [?]

Inscription: Above: the titles of the king: *nb tȝwj wsr-mȝʿt-rʿ mrj-jmn nb rmss ḥqȝ jwnw* = "Lord of the two lands, Usermaʿatreʿ meryamun (Ramses III), lord of the diadems, ruler of Heliopolis". Below: longer inscription (Habachi 1954 507-509). The stela is a border stone on the property of a foreign shield-bearer in the Egyptian army (Schulman 1988 76-77n69).

BR4 Medinet Habu. In situ. Thebes west: Medinet Habu temple of Ramesses III.

Object: Relief. *Date*: 1194-1163.

Published: Nelson 1930 pl 25A* (detail of pl 24); Edgerton/Wilson 1936 17. *Literature*: Giveon 1978b 93.

Description: The depiction under discussion decorates a disk from the trappings of the royal horses. It forms part of a relief that shows the pharaoh returning from his Libyan campaign. On the right is the king. The king is dressed in Egyptian garb, holding the *ḥqȝ*-sceptre (𓋾). He reaches out to receive the *ḫpš*-sword (𓌙) from a god to his left[2]. Unfortunately, the head of the god on the left is lost, but part of the streamer on his crown can still be seen hanging on his shoulder. He is shown barefooted, striding to the right and holding a *wȝs*-sceptre (𓌀)[3] in his left hand in front of him, while he presents the *ḫpš*-sword to the king. The deity is dressed in a short Asiatic kilt with tassels on the sides and between the legs. Also visible are the belt, bull's tail and part

1 Not only "Seth" as Habachi and Schulman have it; the form is non-Egyptian. Better is te Velde with "Seth in his Asiatic form" and Stadelmann (1967 43) with "Seth-Baʿal".

2 Cf *RM16* and *BR3*, but there the pharaoh is in the smiting pose before the god. Here the god is presenting him the *ḫpš*-sword. For the same sword, see the Qadesh stela (*BR12*) and the discussion in Loukianoff (1924 106ff) and Keel (1974 70ff figs 33-37, 72, 1980b fig 405a).

3 The top is lost, but the lower part is clear.

of the bands across his chest (cf *RR7*). There are inscriptions to the left, in front of and behind the king. Both figures stand on the hieroglyphic symbol for feast (𓎱 = *ḥb)*.

Identification: See under *BR3*.

Inscription: Nearly illegible[1]. *dj.n.(j) n.k nb ʿnḫ dd (ḫ)ȝ.f mj rʿ dt* = "I have given thee all life, endurance behind him like Reʿ for ever".

BR5 Cairo JE 60539 (so-called 400 year stela). Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Tanis (San el-Hagar) temple, found and reburied by Mariette (1863), rediscovered by Montet (1933).

Object: Stela of granite with rounded top, 220 (h) cm (total stela, relief 1/3). *Date*: 1290-1224 (Ramesses II)[2].

Published: Mariette 1865 169-185 pl IV. *Literature*: von Beckerath 1951 38ff; Breasted 1962 III par 538-542; Collon 1972 131; Cook 1925 110-111; Fuscaldo 1976 134; Gardiner 1961 165; Gese 1970 132-133; Goedicke 1966; Gressmann 1927 98-99 pl CXL no 344*; Griffifth 1893-1894 87-88*; Habachi 1954 513ff, 1977 41-44; Helck 1971 449; Lanzone 1886 V/2 1144ff pl CCCLXXXI; Leibovitch 1942b 439-440 fig 86*, 1953 103-106 fig 3*, 1961 62-63 fig 8*; Loukianoff 1924 102 fig 5*; Montet 1931-1933 191-215 pls XII-XV*, 1941 67 pl VI, 1952 87-88 fig 15*, 1961 62-63 fig 8*; *PM* IV 23; Pope 1970 185 fig 9*; Pritchard 1969a 252-253, 1969b 187, 317 no 555; Roeder 1919 63 fig 27[3]; Schaeffer 1949 82, 101 fig 36*; Schulman 1979 70, 81n10; Seeden 1980 pl 136:5*; van Seters 1966 174; Sethe 1930 85-89*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 89, 91 fig 058*; Stadelmann 1965 46-60, 1967 41-42, in *LdÄ* I 1975 591; Thompson 1970 71; Vandier 1969 188; te Velde 1977 124-126 fig 15* pl X; Vincent 1928 514f pl XXIV:9*.

Description:[4] Three figures: The first one on the left strides to the right on a base-line. It wears a conical crown (which resembles the Egyptian white crown) with disk and

---

1 Edgerton/Wilson read: "receive --- ruler".

2 On the historical purpose and implications of this stela see Habachi (1977) and Stadelmann (1965 46ff) with literature; also von Beckerath (1951 38ff) and te Velde (124ff).

3 The drawing is totally incorrect (taken over by Gressmann) and creates a wrong idea of the god!

4 The photograph is very unclear and the description is based on it alone. The possibility that many of the details on the drawing of Montet (1931-33) are correct, could not be verified.

two horns in front (in gabled form)[1] and a single, thin, long streamer running from the tip of the crown to the ankles, ending in a flower as on *RR21*. It also wears an Egyptian beard. The figure is dressed in a decorated knee-length kilt. This is fastened to the body by two bands crossing over the chest[2]. Around the neck is a broad necklace and on the upper arms and wrists are bangles. The right hand hangs along the body and holds an *ʿnḫ*-symbol (☥ = life) by its loop, while the left hand holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) (= dominion). To the figure's right is the king. The king is dressed in Egyptian garb, with a bull's tail. He is offering wine in two *nw*-jars (○). To the far right is another figure in the same garb with his hands in a gesture of praise. There are inscriptions in front of the latter figures and a longer inscription below.

Identification: The figure on the left is identified as "Seth" by the inscription, but the god is depicted as a foreign Asiatic god with human head and attributes which are clearly a mixture of Egyptian (*wꜣs*-sceptre, *ʿnḫ*-symbol and the beard) and Canaanite elements (chest bands, streamer [cf *BR11*] and especially the horns on his crown). Therefore, this is not Seth, but Baʿal.[3] To the right side of the deity is Ramesses II and the vizier Seti. [bull horns and inscription]

Inscription: (Between the god and the king and the first lines in front of the third figure): *stḫ n rʿ-ms-sw mrj-jmn dj ʿnḫ.f nb njswt bjtj wsr-mꜣʿt-rʿ sꜣ rʿ rʿ-ms-sw mrj-jmn rdj.t jrp n jt.(f jrj).f dj ʿnḫ n kꜣ nb stḫ sꜣ nwt* = "Seth of Ramesses-meryamun, given all his life. King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaʿatreʿ setepenreʿ, son of Reʿ, Ramesses-meryamun giving wine to (his) father (who made) him, given life for the *kꜣ* of the lord Seth, son of Nut". [4]

BR6[5] *Tanis*. Present location unknown. Tanis (San el-Hagar).

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top, cracks in the middle and on the lower sides, 195 (h) x 140 (w) x 48 (t) cm. *Date*: Ramesses II (1290-1224).

Published: Yoyotte 1950 54ff pl VII*. *Literature*: Stadelmann 1967 43n3; Vandier 1969 189.

Description: Two pharaohs standing on the sides with two gods in the centre. A winged sun-disk with uraei (𓇳) hovers above them. The second figure on the left is facing left, legs apart (feet not visible). It wears a conical headdress with a thin

1 Neither the drawing of Montet, nor that of Seeden is entirely correct in this case. These are also definitely not gazelle horns (contra van Seters and Gressmann).

2 On these bands see *RR7*.

3 Schulman (81n10) has Egyptian Seth, Helck and Stadelmann have Baʿal-Seth.

4 For the complete text, see Pritchard (1969a 253).

5 This item has the same provenance and date as the previous stela.

streamer running from the tip of the crown down to the left hand and an Egyptian beard. The figure is dressed in a knee-length kilt, with a broad collar around the neck. In the right hand it holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre and in the left hand an *ʿnḫ*-symbol. Inscriptions are above the figures and there is a long inscription below.

Identification: The god in the centre right is Geb (cf inscription) and the second figure from the left is identified as Seth by the inscription. However, the streamer is more typical of Baʿal (*BR11*) than in the previous case (*BR5*), although the horns are not shown. [inscription and streamer]

Inscription: *stḫ ʿꜣ pḥtj nb pt dj ʿnḫ.f* = "Seth, great in power, lord of the sky, given his life".

BR7 Nabesha. Present location unknown. Nabesha.

Object: Fragment of limestone stela. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Petrie/Griffith/Murray 1888 112 pl XI:16d. *Literature*: Griffith 1893-1894 87.

Description: The upper part of the figure on the left striding to the right is nearly invisible. It wears tassels on the knee-length kilt and its left hand (not visible) holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre. Behind the figure is part of the streamer[1] attached to its crown (cf *BR5*, *6*)[2]. To the right stands the goddess Neith. There are inscriptions on both registers.

Identification: The tassels indicate that this is a foreign (Canaanite) god. Both Reshef and Baʿal are possibilities, for identification as Baʿal see above under *BR3*. [?]

Inscription: *wꜣdtj nbt mt (ḥ)nwt tꜣwj* = "Wadjtj, lady of GN, lady of the two lands".

BR8 Ismailia 2758. Present location unknown. Gebel Murr.

Object: Stela of red granite with rounded top, outlined with two registers, 278 (h) x 106 (w) x 80 (t) cm. *Date*: Ramesses II (1290-1224).

Published: Goyon 1938 119-120 pl XXI*. *Literature*: Clédat 1919 207-208; Montet 1933 71, 1961 70; *PM* IV 53; Schumacher 1988 87ff; Stadelmann 1967 43-44; Vandier 1969 189.

Description: Only part of a figure with a conical cap and part of a streamer is visible[3]. There are inscriptions on four sides (Goyon pls XXI-XXIII).

---

1 Griffith calls it part of a child, but later changed his view to see this as a "rope".

2 Or is it part of the figure's arm?

3 The complete scene may have looked like Ismailia 2757 (Goyon pl XVIII) with the king (the inscription below mentions Ramesses) offering to the god.

Identification: The figure may be a depiction of Baᶜal (called Seth in the inscription)[1] because of the inscription, the streamer on the cap, especially when compared with the previous stelae.[2] [inscription and streamer]

Inscription: (Above the figure): *stẖ ᶜ3 pḥtj ᶜnḫ w3s nb* = "Seth, great in power, (given) all life and dominion".

BR9 Berlin 8440. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Thebes.

Object: Limestone stela with rounded top, two registers, slightly damaged on the sides. *Date*: 1300-1200.

Published: Gressmann 1927 88 pl CXXIV no 305; Roeder 1924 II 199. *Literature*: Bonnet 1952 705 fig 170*; Cook 1925 111 pl XXV:1; Erman 1934 149 fig 59*; Leibovitch 1953 106 fig 4*; Montet 1931-1933 201; *PM* I/II 797; Schulman 1979 70, 81n10; Thompson 1970 790-791; Vandier 1969 190; Vincent 1928 515 pl XXIV:10*.[3]

Description: Top: Amun-Reᶜ sits on a throne flanked by his consort Mut on the left and a worshipper with his hands in a gesture of praise on the right. A miniature Amun appears on the far left. Below: The striding figure on the left is facing right, striding barefooted on a base-line. It wears the Egyptian white crown with two horns in front and a long streamer running from the tip of the crown to the ankles, ending in a flower. The deity wears an Egyptian beard and is dressed in a knee-length kilt, with a belt. There are tassels on the belt and on the seam below. Around its neck is a broad collar. The right hand hangs next to the body and holds an *ᶜnḫ*-symbol, while the left hand holds a *w3s*-sceptre. Next follow the Egyptian gods Khnum, a miniature Sobek and Ptah.

Identification: The inscription on the lower left identifies the figure as Seth, but because of the streamer (cf *BR11*!), horns and tassels it should rather be identified as Baᶜal, since it is identical to the figure on *BR5*. [inscription and horns]

Inscription: To the upper right of the figure below left: *stẖ nb ḫpš* = "Seth lord of power".

---

1 *PM* have Sopdu, but cf on this now Schumacher (1988 88).

2 On Ismailia 2757 (Dos) (Goyon 1938 119 pl XX; cf Montet 1961 70-71 fig 9) the name of Baᶜal occurs, written *bᶜr* with the Seth determinative (𓃩). Ismailia 2757 (Face) depicts the god Sopdu, but on 2757 (Dos) the relief is missing. Presumably it contained a depiction of Baᶜal.

3 Te Velde (1977 pl XII:1) has Berlin 8440, but this is a photo of Berlin 7265 (*BR10*).

BR10 Berlin 7265. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.

Object: Black granite relief on part of the throne of a colossal statue of the Middle Kingdom, reworked during the New Kingdom. *Date*: Reworked piece of Merneptah (1224-1214). The original comes from the Middle Kingdom (c 2040-1640).

Published: Bonnet 1925 fig 54; Roeder 1924 I 141-143, II 19-22. *Literature*: Stadelmann 1967 42n1; te Velde 1977 pl XII:1[1]. *Description*: Merneptah brings an offering (only his hands are visible on the left) to a barefooted figure striding to the left. The deity wears the white crown with gabled horns, an Egyptian beard and a long streamer. The left hand is depicted with an *ʿnḫ*, the right hand is holding a *wȝs*-sceptre.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal, although the inscription has Seth. [inscription and horns]

Inscription: *stḫ nṯr ʿȝ nb pt* = "Seth, the great god, lord of the sky".

BR11 Louvre AO 13176. Louvre, Paris. Ras Shamra (Ugarit), LB (1500-1200) temple of Baʿal.[2]

Object: Red sandstone[3] stela (29 [h] cm) with a rounded top, badly broken and reconstructed from several fragments, outlined, upper left and lower part lost. *Date*: c 1300.

Published: Schaeffer 1929 294, 1931 10-12 pl VI. *Literature*: Caquot/Sznycer 1980 24 pl XII; Dussaud 1937 28 fig 8*; Eissfeldt 1968 55 pl I; Friedrich 1933 7-8 pl 1 fig 1; Gese 1970 124-125 fig 6*; Giveon 1965 199; Gray 1964 229 pl 22; Helck 1966 2, 1971 449-450; Hillmann 1965 78 fig 6; Horsfield/Vincent 1932 439 pl XIV:2; Jacob 1960 19 pl IV; Kinet 1981 14; Leibovitch 1939 145, 1942b 440 fig 88*, 1953 106 fig 5*; Montet 1931-1933 203, 1938 181-183*; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 148:4*; Norin 1977 48*-49; *PM* VII 393-394 (literature!); Pritchard 1969a 249, 1969b 167, 306 no 485; Roeder 1956 44; Schaeffer 1932 24-27 fig 16, 1939 39-41 fig 30; Schulman

1 Cf previous note.

2 This stela is Egyptian in style, but comes from Syria. It is dedicated by an Egyptian official and is a private stela (of which no examples from Egypt are known, *BR5-10* are all royal monuments devoted to the god of the Ramesside dynasty). On its importance and historical implications see Stadelmann (1967 38) and Helck (1966 2, 1971 450).

3 Stadelmann makes much of the fact that the stela was made of imported Egyptian material (according to him from Gebel el-Ahmar) and even conjectures that the stela was brought from Egypt .

1979 70, 1984a 80; van Seters 1966 174-175; Stadelmann 1967 37-39; Thompson 1970 72-73; Vandier 1969 190; Welten in Galling 1977 167-177; Zandee 1963 148.[1]

Description: The figure on the left is striding barefooted to the right on a base-line. The greater part of its body is destroyed, but the lower part of the legs and feet, as well as the shoulders, head and left arm, are still visible. It wears a conical crown[2] with a long thin streamer reaching from the tip downwards to the ankles, ending in a single flower. The figure has an Egyptian beard. The remains of part of a band[3] across the chest can be seen on the right shoulder. In the left hand is a *wꜣs*-sceptre. In front of the figure is a cultic stand with a jar and a lotus on top of it. On the right a worshipper in Egyptian garb[4] can be seen in a gesture of praise. Below is a long, but very badly mutilated inscription. Another inscription above identifies the two figures.

Identification: The figure is identified as Baʿal-Zaphon by the inscription. It is comparable to the figures on the Egyptian items *BR5*ff. [inscription]

Inscription: (above) *bʿr*[5] *ḏꜣpwnꜣ*[6] *sš-njswt jmj-rꜣ pr n pr-ḥḏ mꜣmj mʿꜣ-ḫrw* = "To Baʿal-Zaphon[7], for the royal scribe, overseer of the treasury, Mami the

---

1 Jirku (1962 439 pl 72) has the Mekal stela (*fig 1*), but his description is that of the Mami stela.

2 Leibovitch (1953) has horns in his drawing, but these are unclear.

3 Cf *RR7*. According to Schulman there is perhaps also a collar.

4 According to Stadelmann (37) the clothes are typical of the post Amarna period.

5 Written with the Seth animal determinative (𓃩).

6 Written with two determinatives: the throwing stick (𓌙) denoting foreign people and the ideogram for a foreign country (𓈉).

7 This is the only piece that can be connected with a specific Baʿal, namely Baʿal-Zaphon, known from the pantheon list *KTU* 1.47:5 as *bʿl ṣpn* and Akkadian (d)*Addu bēl ḫuršān ḫazi* (Nougayrol in Schaeffer 1968 44). He was the imperial god of Ugarit, as is known from the letter of the king of Ugarit to the pharaoh (*RS* 16.117 = Virolleaud 1957 no 18:19 = *KTU* 2.23; with adapted reading of Eissfeldt 1968 53ff - *bʿl ṣpn bʿly*), in which Baʿal-Zaphon and not the chief god Ilu is used parallel with the god Amun (cf also Gese 1970 124). Zaphon (Pope in Haussig 1965 256) refers to the residence of Baʿal, the modern Jebel el-Aqra (1780 metres) north of Ugarit (ancient Cas(s)ios), in West Semitic *ṣpn* and Akkadian *ḫaz*(*z*)*i*. Cf the impressive photograph in Schaeffer (1939 pl XXXVI). For Baʿal-Zaphon (Albright 1950; Eissfeldt 1932; Gese 1970 123ff; Haas 1982 115ff; de Moor 1970 and now Görg in Görg/Lang 1991 225-226 [+ literature]), see also the 19th dynasty *Papyrus Sallier* IV verso 1:6 (Gardiner 1937 89 = Pritchard 1969a 250a). The 1st millennium treaty between Esarhaddon of Assyria and Baʿal of Tyre also mentions this god (Pritchard 1969a 534). Baʿal-Zaphon

justified".[1]

BR12 Aleppo 384. Aleppo National Museum. Tell Nebi Mend (Qadesh).

Object: Fragment of a black basalt stela with a rounded top, 45 (h) x 70 (w) cm. *Date*: 1306-1290 (Sethos I).

Published: Pezard 1922 108 pl XXII fig 6*. *Literature*: Gese 1970 133, n244; Gressmann 1927 32 pl XL* no 91; Helck 1971 449; Horsfield/Vincent 1932 443 fig 7*; Keel 1974 70 fig 33*; Loukianoff 1924 101-108 fig 1*[2]; Montet 1931-1933 201; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 143E*; Pritchard 1969b 103, 286 no 317; *PM* VII 392; Roeder 1956 44; Stadelmann 1967 42-43; Thompson 1970 72; Vandier 1969 188; te Velde 1977 130; Vincent 1928 515.

Description: Sethos I on the right (identified by the royal cartouches) receives the *ḫpš*-sword (𓌕) from Amun-Reʿ[3] (inscription), who is followed by three other gods. The first one on the left is unclear (only part of the headdress is visible, perhaps Hathor?), the second one is Montu (inscription).[4] The third god wears a high conical headdress with a thin streamer hanging from the tip of the crown, and a beard (type unclear, can it be Asiatic?). He has his right hand before him as if he is holding some sceptre[5].

Identification: Although the iconography can fit both Reshef and Baʿal, the figure can possibly be identified as Baʿal[6] because, as argued by Stadelmann (43), Reshef was replaced by Baʿal-Seth as royal god in the Ramesside period. There is nothing typical to definitely identify the figure with Reshef. [?]

Inscription: (*stḫ ʿꜣ*) *pḥtj* = "(Seth, great in) power".

---

also functions in the Punic Marseilles offering tarif (*KAI* 69) and a Phoenician letter from 6th century Saqqara (*KAI* 50). On the "Job stela" (cf *fig 34* above), Ilu is the creator of Zaphon.

1 For the inscription below, see Stadelmann (38).

2 This drawing is a more correct rendering of the original when compared with Pezard, who misinterprets many of the objects. Keel follows Loukianoff.

3 On the symbolism involved, see *BR3-4* above.

4 Not Mut and Khons as in Gressmann, Pritchard and Pezard. The identification given here follows Loukianoff and Keel.

5 See the different renderings on the drawings in the cited literature.

6 Pritchard has only "Asiatic god", Montet Seth and Gressmann Seth or Baʿal, but the form is Asiatic, so it should be Baʿal. There is no definite indication that this is Reshef (contra Pezard).

BR13 Ashmolean E. 714. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Sinai: Serabit el-Khadim.[1]

Object: Stela of limestone with a rounded top, outlined, with a break in the middle, 38 (h) x 26 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Petrie 1906 127 fig 134. *Literature*: Gardiner et al 1952 I pl LXXIX*, 1955 II 196 no 308; Helck 1971 449; Leibovitch 1939 145, 1942b 439 fig 85*; *PM* VII 365; Schulman 1979 70 81n10; Thompson 1970 70; Vandier 1969 189; Vincent 1928 516 pl XXIV:13*.

Description: A human is offering a bouquet of flowers to a bearded figure (on the left) striding to the right. On its head is a white crown with protruding bull horns[2] and a long streamer running from the tip of the crown to its ankles. The figure is dressed in a knee-length kilt with a belt. The right arm hangs down to the side[3]. In the other hand is a *wȝs*-sceptre (𓌀). There are inscriptions in front of the two figures and a longer inscription below.

Identification: The inscription contains the name Seth, but the horns are typical of Baʿal[4]. [inscription and horns]

Inscription: *ḥtp dj njswt stẖ (ʿȝ) pḥtj* = "An offering which the king gives to Seth, (great) in power".[5]

BR14 Cairo JE 45535. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Memphis M-1998 (University of Pennsylvania excavations 1915-1923).

Object: Stela of creamy white limestone, 17,5 (h) x 13 (w) cm, with a rounded top; the lower left and the right edges are lost. The figures are in high relief. *Date*: c 1500-1200.

Published: Schulman 1982 81-91 pl 1. *Literature*: *PM* III/2 858.

Description: Triad of figures: In the middle is a nude female figure with a Hathor-like headdress. It is standing barefooted en face on a base-line[6], with arms in a V-position

---

1 According to Giveon (1984 783), there is no depiction of Baʿal from Sinai (cf Schumacher 1988 25), but this stela surely does represent Baʿal. The reason for this view may lie in the fact that he interprets the figure on the Oxford stela as Seth or Baʿal-Seth.

2 Definitely no gazelle horns (contra Gardiner).

3 Vincent adds the *ʿnḫ*-sign in his drawing, but this is missing.

4 Schulman has Seth, but the iconography is clearly Canaanite.

5 For the inscription below, see Gardiner (1955 196).

6 On the other stelae it is a lion (*RR29*ff).

and the feet pointing right. It is reaching (holding something?[1]) out to the two male figures standing on both sides.[2] These figures are barefoot. The figure on the left wears the short Egyptian (*šndjt*) kilt (𓋳)[3] with a belt. The outer arm is hanging down with a clenched fist and the other arm is slightly bent. The figure has an Asiatic beard, long hair and a high flat-topped cylindrical (non-Egyptian) headdress[4]. In contrast to the previous figure, the figure on the right with its bald head but Asiatic beard is standing on a pedestal. It is much smaller than the other two figures[5].

Identification: Schulman identifies the female as Qudshu and the male figures respectively as Baʿal (Zaphon) and Reshef. The two identifications of Qudshu and Baʿal are accepted. The female figure is typical of Qudshu known from other stelae depicting the divine triad (*RR28-31, RM20*). Although Min is usually shown on the left (*RR29-32*), the figure is definitely not Min; the headdress on the left is typically un-Egyptian, as is the beard. Reshef is usually shown on the right (*RR28-31, RM20*), but the figure shown in this case is definitely human. There is nothing to indicate that it is divine; it may be a worshipper.[6] The figure on the left could be Baʿal because of the similarity between the headdress and that of Baʿal on the stela JE 25147 from the Persian period (*fig 46*; cf *BM57*). [?]

BR15 Cairo JE 26048. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Unknown provenance.

Object: Stela of limestone, with a rounded top; the stela has two registers; the figures are in a niche and the lower register is empty. *Date*: 13th century[7].

Published: Müller 1906 32-33 I pl 41:2. *Literature*: Boreux 1939 676n1; Cook 1925 107, 111; Fulco 1976 16; Fuscaldo 1972 125; Giveon 1980 148; Gressmann 1927 82 pl CXV:272; Helck 1971 452 no 18; Leibovitch 1961 28; Maier 1986 128n19; Pritchard 1943 33 no 3, 1969b 163, 304 no 470; Schulman 1979 no 37, 1982n8 no 4; Stadelmann 1967 119n1[8]; Thompson 1970 71-72; Welten in Galling 1977 112.

---

1 On the other triad stelae the figure is holding serpents and flowers (*RR29*ff).

2 It may look as if the figure is pinching their noses, but this is only due to the crowdedness of the scene (cf also Schulman).

3 Cf Schulman (84). For Baʿal with the same kilt, see below *BR17* and *BM41* and *82*.

4 Cf the headdress of the god on the Persian period stela (*fig 46* below) and *BM57*. See also the headdress of the god Ilu on the Job stela (*fig 34*).

5 Schulman describes this shortness as an attempt to align the three figures (85).

6 For a worshipper on a pedestal, see *BR1* with notes.

7 Cook has the 9th century (?).

8 He cites Müller incorrectly as pl 42.

Description: Upper register: Triad group - A naked female figure in the centre stands on a lion with her feet pointing to the right. The figure holds two lotus flowers in the left and perhaps a serpent in the right (?) hand. On the right is a female (?) figure facing left and dressed in a long garment. There is an *ʿnḫ* (☥) in the left hand. The right hand is slightly lifted in the direction of the central figure. A penis, as on the triad stelae depicting Min (*RR28*ff), is visible[1]. On the left is a male figure dressed in a knee-length kilt with a belt and the white crown (𓋑). It is facing to the right and holding what may be a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀), as Schulman (1979) has it. This is no spear. The other hand is hanging down the side of the figure. The beard and symbols on the crown[2] are not visible.

Identification: The figure in the centre is typical of Qudshu. The figure on the right may be a worshipper, although the *ʿnḫ* in the hand of a *human* is a problem[3]. The figure on the left has been identified as Reshef (Müller, Giveon and Fuscaldo) or Seth (Pritchard, Gressmann, Cook, Fulco and Welten)[4]. Both Reshef and Baʿal are possible identifications. [?]

BR16 Copenhagen AEIN 313 (1908 E 536). Ny Carlsberg Glyptotheque, Copenhagen. Bought in Egypt in 1890.

Object: Stela of limestone with a rounded top in two registers; figures are faded on the right side and below, 20 (h) x 14 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Koefoed-Petersen 1948 37-38 pl 49. *Literature*: Fuscaldo 1972 122-123; Giveon 1980 148; Helck 1971 452 no 10, 465 no 5; Leibovitch 1961 26; Maier 1986 128n19; Schulman 1979 no 36; Stadelmann 1967 122.

Description: Upper register: A naked figure in the centre (as on the previous stela) holds a lotus and a serpent (?) in the right and left hand. The figure on the left is facing right. It is dressed in a long garment with a belt, and has an Asiatic (?) beard and a headdress with a long streamer. There is a lotus flower in the left hand; the right hand hangs down passively. The figure on the right is facing to the left, dressed in a long garment and with a feathered headdress. Lower register: There is an offering table with kneeling worshippers - the first figure holds a lotus; the second is unclear.

---

1 Cf Moscow I.1.a 5613 (described above under *2.1.1.2 - fig 4*) for a similar attribute.

2 Pritchard has it ending in a streamer, but this is not visible on the photograph published there. The same is true of the horns described by Cook (111).

3 The penis may be the only traces left of an original Min figure, but Min is usually not on the right-hand side!

4 Schulman (1979) only has "Asiatic god" in his description, but he includes it under his *Reshef* material!

Identification: Fuscaldo, Giveon, Helck and Koefoed-Petersen have Reshef, Qudshu and Min, but the figure on the right is probably rather Onuris[1] (Schulman, Stadelmann, Maier). None of the figures can be Min. The god on the left could be Reshef, but perhaps rather Baʿal. The flower that the figure on the right is holding may be a variant (?) of the plant-like spear of *BR1* and the plant sceptre of *BM17* (cf Keel in Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 259ff figs 72-75 for the MB god with plant sceptre). The inscription is illegible. [?]

Synthesis

The first two items (*BR3-4*) depict a motif which is purely Egyptian in content and which is not depicted in Western Asiatic iconography. Under *RM16* comparative sources have been cited which relate to the "smiting of the enemy" by the pharaoh in the presence of the god who holds out the *ḫpš*-sword towards him (as on *BR3*). This will not be repeated here.

Both items originate from Egypt, from Qantir (on a 90 cm high sandstone stela) and from an in situ relief in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (Thebes). *BR3* is a private stela, which indicates that private foreigners could also have stelae made, which depict the foreign god Baʿal performing an act common to traditional Egyptian gods (Montu and Amun).[2]

BR4 actually forms the first act of a series performed in preparation for war in ancient Egypt, namely the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword to the king by Amun and Montu (Keel 1974 figs 35-37, 72). A series of reliefs (Keel 1980b fig 405a) from the temple of Ramesses III (1194-1163) at Medinet Habu with accompanying texts (Edgerton/Wilson 1936 4ff) tell the whole story: after the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword by the war-god (here Amun, but it could also be Baʿal, as on *BR4*) the pharaoh is blessed by Montu, mounts the war-chariot and rides into battle. The outcome was

1 He is depicted with a human head and feathered headdress (Helck in Haussig 1965 382; cf Pritchard 1969b no 573:20).

2 In his study of private stelae depicting the smiting of the enemies, Schulman (1988) argues that this act was not only a timeless stereotyped iconographic motif, but was actually performed in the temple (eg of Ptah). It was a *historical act* performed at a specific time in history. For *BR3* he (1988 58) proposes that the act of slaying was performed in a temple of Seth at Qantir. This view has been criticized in various reviews and it will not be repeated.

already settled, since the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword gives divine sanction to war and is at the same time a pledge of victory (cf Keel 1974 fig 34 = *fig 35*).[1]

As the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword indicates, war was a religious undertaking in ancient Egypt. It is therefore logical that the item comes from a royal *sanctuary*. The scene (*BR4*) is depicted on the representation of the trappings of the royal horses and forms part of a larger scene showing the pharaoh returning from the victorious Libyan campaign (Nelson 1930 pl 24). By representing the god Baᶜal (or Reshef as on *RM16*) performing the symbolic act of the presentation of the *ḫpš*-sword, the campaign was divinely sanctioned and the result determined. Of all the Egyptian kings, Ramesses III is the one who uses comparisons to Baᶜal the most when describing his military performances (Stadelmann 1967 40f)[2]. Some texts refer to the king's battle cry which is like Baᶜal's in the heavens[3]. His heart storms like Baᶜal. The defeated enemy (Keel 1980b fig 132a) praises the pharaoh in the following words: "...there was none other like Baal, but the king is his true son for ever" (Keel 1978b 102).

The two items which were discussed above, thus reflect the motif of Baᶜal as a god of war. Here he is directly connected with the pharaohs, even on the private stela from Qantir (*BR3*).

The *medium* of the items is in all cases (except for *BR10*), the round-topped Egyptian stela. There are also stelae from Ugarit, Qadesh and Sinai (*BR11-13*).

The stelae are typically made of limestone, but there are other examples of granite (*BR5*, 8) and sandstone (*BR3*). *BR11*, discovered at Ugarit, is made of imported red Egyptian sandstone. *BR12* from Qadesh in Syria is made of black basalt. *BR10* is a relief on part of a re-used throne of a statue from an earlier period. Most of the items have two registers, with either figures (*BR9* and *16*) or inscriptions on the lower register (*BR5-8*, *11*, *13*). Many of the items are badly damaged or with unclear figures.

---

1 In the Book of Maccabeans (II 15:15-16) Judas receives a golden sword from Jeremiah as symbol and pledge of his victory in the battle that follows (17ff).

2 Cf Edgerton/Wilson (1936 73, 91, 94, 100).

3 Cf *EA* 147:10.

BR11 has been reconstructed from several fragments. *BR13* has a crack in the middle.

The *size* of the items shows that they were monumental objects: the 400 year stela (*BR5*) is 220 cm and *BR8* 278 cm in height. This contrasts sharply with the much smaller Reshef stelae (*2.1.1.1-2.1.1.2*) which are not official monuments, but private votive stelae. *BR11*, *13*, *14*, *16* are respectively 29, 38, 18 and 20 cm in height. These were private monuments. The triad stelae (*BR14* and *16*) compare well in size with *RR28-31* above (between 18-20 cm in height). The items *date* from the 19th and 20th dynasties (1300-1200). Stelae from the reign of Ramesses II (1290-1224) predominate (*BR5-6*, *8*).

The items *originate* from the whole of the ancient Near East, ranging from Thebes in the south to Ugarit in the north. From the important Ramesside site of Tanis come two stelae (*BR5-6*), one comes from a temple (*BR5*)[1]. Stelae also come from Nabesha (*BR7*), Memphis (*BR14*) and Gebel Murr (*BR8*). *BR9-10* come from Thebes.

No relief depicting Reshef has been found outside Egypt, but in contrast there are many reliefs from outside Egypt representing Baᶜal. In addition to the stelae of Baᶜal depicting the brandishing god (*BR1*), there are examples of the standing Baᶜal from Sinai (*BR13*), Qadesh (*BR12*) and on the inscribed stela from Ugarit (*BR11*). The Qadesh example is more official, representing pharaoh Sethos and the Egyptian gods (which include Baᶜal). The other two stelae are dedicated by Egyptian officials serving abroad (*BR11*, *BR13*). *BR11* is dedicated to Baᶜal-Zaphon. The stela is perhaps dedicated to him for protection on a sea journey (Stadelmann 1967 38; cf Helck 1971). These are comparable to the stelae from Beisan dedicated by Egyptians to Mekal (*fig 1*) and Anat (*fig 17* above).

The majority of the stelae are inscribed, containing the names of gods (*BR9*), kings (*BR5-6*, *12*) and officials (*BR11*, *13*). The name Seth (*BR5*, *6*, *8-10*, *12-13*) with the god's epiphets is quite important. However, as shown in the *introduction* and discussion of the items,

1 According to Habachi (1977) this stela was originally erected in Qantir to justify the choice of this city as capital.

Seth's attributes rather correspond to the attributes of the Canaanite Baʿal. Therefore many items have been identified as representing Baʿal.

Baʿal is depicted in Egyptian style with Egyptian attributes (white crown and *wȝs*-sceptre), but with definite Asiatic attributes (streamer, tassels, chest bands and [most important] bull horns as on *BR5* and *BR9, 13*).

In most cases the headdress is the white crown of Egypt. The crown on *BR14*, is totally different. It is comparable with *BM57* and the later representation of Baʿal on JE 25147 (*fig 46* below). In nearly all the cases, there is a single (never double!) streamer hanging from the tip of the crown. Quite important are the bull horns on the crowns of *BR5*, *9* and *13*. These help to identify the figure as Canaanite. How these horns might have looked in three-dimensional form, may be ascertained from the Ramesside head published by Jéquier (1930 - cf *fig 59* below under *2.2.4*). This is a conical headdress with bull horns. On the stelae the horns are protruding. The beard is usually of the Egyptian type (*BR5-6, 9-13*).

The kilt is the short knee-length type, but *BR14* shows a kilt of the Egyptian (*šndjt*) type. *BR16* is also an exception to the rule showing a long garment. The kilt is decorated with Asiatic tassels (*BR5, 7, 9*).

On *BR5-6, 9-11, 13, 15* the god holds the *wȝs*-sceptre of the Egyptian gods. In the left hand is the sign for life, *ʿnḫ*. *BR16* depicts the god holding a flower. Could this be related to the vegetation-like staff or weapon of *BR1* and *BM17*?

The reason why the god Baʿal is depicted and named Seth, could be that Baʿal and Seth are identified with each other. Both are regarded as storm gods. But this does not mean that they lost their individual iconographic characteristics (cf *BM22*!).

On *BR11* the god is clearly identified by the inscription as the Canaanite god, Baʿal-Zaphon. The figures on the inscribed stelae which have been identified as representing Baʿal, have the name Seth, but depict a figure which is Asiatic rather than Egyptian[1]. Schulman (1979 81n10)

---

1 It is conjectured that the determinative of the Seth animal with which the gods on *BR5*ff are indicated, should perhaps be read "Baʿal" and not "Seth". Note that on *BR10* the name Seth is written fully, but this is an exception to the rule.

writes that if the Egyptian artist wanted to depict Baʿal, he would not have written Seth. In reply it may be argued that the writer wrote Seth only while Seth and Baʿal are identified with each other. The figure on the Mami-stela (*BR11*), in contrast, is called Baʿal in the inscription and not Seth (but written with the Seth determinative) because in Canaan the identification of Seth with Baʿal did not exist and the god was known as Baʿal by the general population (including Egyptians residing there).

The figure which has been identified as Baʿal, is depicted in the company of kings (*BR5-6*) and other gods. On *BR7* and especially *BR9* he is shown with the major gods of Egypt (Amun, Mut and Ptah). On the triad stelae (*BR14-16*) the god Baʿal may stand to the left of Qudshu, with Onuris on the right (cf *BR16*). In other cases he is shown with the king and gods (Amun and Monthu) (*BR12*), or with officials worshipping him (*BR11* and *13*). *BR9* shows a builder with his hands in a gesture of prayer. *BR16* (lower register) has kneeling worshippers, but some of the figures on the triad stela are unclear. The figures on the right of *BR14* and *15* are problematic.

The items differ and represent variants, but have one thing in common, namely that in nearly all the cases the figure is standing, holding a *wȝs*-sceptre, but never any weapons.

2.2.1.3 Baʿal-Seth the serpent slayer (BR17-BR19)

Introduction

The following items can be distinguished from the menacing god with brandished weapons (*BR1-2*), the god with the *ḫpš*-sword (*BR3-4*) and the weaponless god (*BR5-16*). *BR17* and *19.* depict a winged figure in Asiatic garb attacking a serpent with a long spear. The items are all incomplete, but there are enough comparative items to reconstruct the scenes as depictions of the serpent slayer known in Egypt and Western Asia. *BR17* and *19* show a hybrid figure with the wings of Seth (unknown for Baʿal!). But the garb is that of Baʿal. In the case of *BR19* the serpent killer is even depicted with Cretan elements. This same motif is well attested and better represented in miniature art (*2.2.2.5*).

Catalogue

BR17 Matmar. Present location unknown. Matmar, temple of Ramesses II.

Object: Fragment of a limestone stela, 15 cm (h). The body is blue, the legs are red, the wings are yellow and blue; the serpent is mottled red and black. *Date*: 1290-1224.

Published: Brunton 1948 61 pl XLIX:13*. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 314-315 fig 90*; Leibovitch 1953 108 fig 16*; Vandier 1969 191.

Description: A winged figure of which the head and arms are destroyed[1] is dressed in a short, pleated kilt of the Egyptian *šndjt*-type ([illegible]). There are two long tassels attached on the front of the kilt; two smaller ones are on the back. The figure is thrusting downwards with a spear (of which only the lower part is visible) to kill a rearing serpent, of which only a part has survived.

Identification: At first glance, the figure can be identified as the (winged) god Seth slaying the serpent Apophis. This becomes apparent when the figure is compared with the next two items and other comparative material (cf *fig 39* under *synthesis*) where the figure survived. However, although the figure's head is missing and one is not sure if the figure has the animal head of the god Seth (as on *fig 39*), the tassels on the Egyptian kilt are of the Asiatic type. The wings are not typical of the Canaanite Baʿal, whereas Seth is shown with wings (cf *synthesis* and introduction to *2.2.2.2*). An identification with Reshef (Barnett 1969 412) is excluded because this god is never winged, nor is he a serpent killer. The figure is a mixture of the Egyptian Seth (wings) and the Canaanite Baʿal (tassels), best described as Baʿal-Seth. [serpent killer/tassels]

BR18 Lachish. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell ed-Duweir, area P, level VI, locus 3161[2], room leading to the side entrance of the main hall in the LB temple.

Object: Limestone graffito, with modern Hebrew letters, 78 (l) x 32 (h) x 18 (t) cm. *Date*: 14th-13th centuries.

Published: Ussishkin 1978 18 pl 7:1. *Literature*: Clamer 1980 161; Giveon 1978a 10, 12 fig 10; Keel/Küchler 1982 915-916 fig 613*; Keel in Keel/Schroer 1985 17, Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 318-321 fig 96*; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 120:F2*; Weippert 1988 312 pl 9:2.

---

1 It is uncertain how the head looks; it could be the head of the Seth animal (*fig 39*), but also anthropomorphic (te Velde 1977 pl VIII:2; Keel in Keel/Shuval/ Uehinger 1990 319 figs 94-95) or falcon-headed (te Velde 1977 pl IX). The tassels indicate that the figure is non-Egyptian, ie it could have looked like *BR18* or it could have worn an Egyptian white crown with symbol as on the seals and plaques *BM76*ff.

2 Cf Ussishkin (1978 fig 3).

Description: A figure faces left; only the body down to the waist is visible. The figure wears a conical crown with a streamer[1], a belt and bands across the chest (to hold a quiver?). It holds a very long spear with a massive blade above the head with both hands.

Identification: The figure could be identified as Baʿal, who is slaying a serpent (not shown) with a long spear. An identification as Reshef[2] is out of the question, as he is never shown with such a long spear raised above his head[3]. [?]

BR19 Copenhagen AEIN 726[4]. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotheque, Copenhagen. Purchased in Egypt, 1894.

Object: Damaged fragment of a limestone stela, rounded top, remains of upper right, 22 (h) x 19 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Mogensen 1930 96 pl CIII no A706; Koefoed-Petersen 1948 35 no 43.

Literature: Culican 1976 474ff fig 1*; Horsfield/Vincent 1932 437 pl XV:1; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 314-315 fig 94*; Leibovitch 1944a 104-105 fig 12*, 1953 107-108 fig 15*; Roeder 1956 45; Schmidt 1908 215; Schulman 1979 70, 81nn11-12; Thompson 1970 133; Vandier 1969 191; te Velde 1977 20, 99ff, 126n2 pl VIII:1.

Description: A winged, barefooted figure stands at the prow of a boat[5], thrusting downwards with a long spear. It wears an Egyptian *nms*-headdress, with the head and horns of a bull protruding forwards[6]. The figure is dressed in a striped ankle-length kilt with a belt and tassels between the legs and on the sides.

---

1 The damage makes it unclear to ascertain whether there is a beard.

2 Keel (1982, 1985) and Weippert who compares it with the bronzes (sic!). H Weippert admits that the pose is not usual for Reshef. Keel changed his views in 1990 and identifies the figure as Baʿal-Seth.

3 Even when the items where Reshef is shown with a long-shafted weapon above his head (which is not clearly a mace/axe) is interpreted as depicting a spear or javelin (Keel 1980b on *RR1*), the spear depicted here is clearly of a totally different type. This is true both as far as the length and the position above the head are concerned.

4 Earlier A. 119 and E. 130.

5 The front part, on which a bird is visible, can clearly be seen. The bird indicates that this is a barque, as such a bird is shown on *fig 39* below (cf also Dondelinger 1976).

6 The horns can be best described as Cretan, as done by Leibovitch (1953 108 fig 13) and Culican (1976 474n48). Cf the New Kingdom paintings depicting

Identification: The figure is identified as Seth by the inscription. He is attacking the serpent Apophis from the barque of Amun-Reᶜ. However, the kilt and horns are un-Egyptian and the god can best be described as Baᶜal-Seth, ie Baᶜal[1] with the head of a bull, but with Seth-like wings. The composition is a mixture of Eastern Mediterranean elements: Cretan (head with horns), Canaanite (kilt/act) and Egyptian (wings/act[2]). [inscription/bull head]

Inscription: *stẖ kꜣ nbtj* = "Seth, the bull of Ombos".

Synthesis

The items depicting the motif of the serpent killer come from the 14th-13th centuries. The first one comes from the temple of Ramesses II at Matmar (*BR17*). *BR19* was purchased in Egypt. The motif depicted on the Lachish graffito (*BR18)* is a Palestinian variant. This shows that the motif was also known in Canaan (Palestine) and not only in Egypt. *BR18* comes from a LB temple in Palestine/Israel and provides some information on the worship of Baᶜal in this region. This is a welcome new piece of evidence that can be added to the Egyptian and Ugaritic items discussed so far. However, only after the seals and amulets (*2.2.2*) have been studied, can the popularity of Baᶜal in Palestine be ascertained and evaluated.[3]

Although all items are incomplete or fragments, *BR17* has the original colour scheme that was used: a blue body, red legs, yellow and blue wings; and a red serpent with black mottles[4].

It is remarkable that although a foreign god is depicted, on *BR17* he wears a kilt of the royal Egyptian type as on *BR14* (cf *BM41* and *82*) with two tassels on the left. All the figures have spears.

Cretans with gifts of bull-headed objects in Davies (1933 pl XX, 1973 pl XVIII) and the figure of the bull studied by Weigall (1917 187).

1 Schulman has again only Seth.

2 The Canaanite Baᶜal is also a serpent slayer (*BM76*ff), but he is never depicted standing in a boat.

3 Mention can also be made of the Taanach texts in which Baᶜal is the most important deity (de Moor 1990 104).

4 Cf the colour scheme of the figure of Reshef on *RR31* above.

Much more detail is shown on the better preserved *BR19*. Here the figure stands in the prow of the barque of Amun-Reᶜ. The wings and bull horns need more attention:

(i) *bull horns*: The text identifies the figure as Seth and adds the title 𓂓𓃒 (*kȝ* = "bull"). According to the iconographic attributes, the figure has been identified as representing Baᶜal-Seth. However, Baᶜal is never depicted as a *bull* in (old) Canaanite iconography (also Culican 1976 61ff), although he has bull horns (*BR1*, *BM1*ff). The serpent-slayer Baᶜal is also shown with bull horns (*BM77*, *79*, *81*, *83* and cf *BB1*). Baᶜal stands holding a bull (*BM4*, *6*, cf *fig 33*) or on a bull (*BM85*, *BS1* and cf *fig 41* below). In later Phoenician iconography Baᶜal is depicted with the head of a bull (Culican 1960-1961 pl I fig 1f; Gubel 1986a fig 1 = *figs 36a-b*).[1] A sculpture in the Damascus museum (Gray 1969 73 = *fig 37*) depicts a seated, bull-headed figure, with dagger on the waist. Could this be identified as Baᶜal?

In the Ugaritic texts, Baᶜal does not carry the title bull (*ṯr*), which is restricted to the chief god Ilu[2]. Baᶜal can fight like an ox (*KTU* 1.6 VI 17-18) and has bull's horns (*KTU* 1.101 obv 6)[3]. The idea that he is related to the bull (Gese 1970 129) comes from Ugaritic texts which are understood as describing his sexual relationship with Anat (eg *KTU* 1.10 III 5ff; 1.11, cf 1.5 V 18ff)[4]. In *KTU* 1.92 obv, Baᶜal as a bull is hunted and devoured by Astarte (cf Margalit 1989 67ff).

---

1 A cylinder seal from the 9th century (BM 89519 = Wiseman/Forman 1985 no 49; letter of D Collon [31/12/1991]) depicts a figure with a bull-head standing on two animals and holding two animals.

2 Eg *KTU* 1.1 IV 12, 1.2 I 16, 1.3 V 10, 1.4 I 4. Cf Gese (1970 97); Jaroš (1982 212ff) and Pope (1955 35ff and in Haussig 1965 255, 281). This was also a title of the Egyptian god Amun-Reᶜ.

3 The much-discussed *KTU* 1.101:8 (cf Culican 1976 61ff with references) which is a description of Baᶜal (cf the latest translation by de Moor 1987 1-2) does not describe him as a bull, but only mentions that he has horns.

4 For a different interpretation cf now Peggy Day (1992).

(ii) *wings*: The figures on *BR17* and *19* are winged. The *wings* are not a Canaanite attribute of Baʿal, nor are they typical of the Egyptian gods. However, as shown by Keel, there is a tradition in Egyptian iconography of a winged Seth (with animal head). This motif was perhaps combined with the wings of the god Horus (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 364; cf Dąbrowski 1992 37-38 figs d-e). The origin of the wings of Baʿal lies in the iconography of the winged Seth (cf *introduction* of *2.2.2.2*).

The only possible Canaanite textual reference to the wings of Baʿal[1] is the title in *KTU* 1.46:6: *bʿl knf* (cf Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 320 and Koch 1988 195). This is rather to be interpreted as a divine geographical designation (Kühne 1975 255n10), as is the case of Baʿal of Zaphon (*BR11*). Later Phoenician iconography also depicts Baʿal with wings (Keel 1977b 200-204 figs 149-154)[2], eg *fig 38*.

BR19 shows one part of the total context (namely the barque) and *BR17* another (namely the serpent). When combined, the motif can be reconstructed as Baʿal-Seth conquering the wicked serpent. Seth as the serpent-slayer is known from Egypt in the pure Egyptian form (Nagel 1929 33-40; te Velde 1977 99ff). He is depicted in his typical Egyptian iconography - he has an animal head and stands in the prow of the solar barque with a long spear, repelling the evil serpent Apophis (Bonnet 1952 51ff). This is best illustrated on the papyrus published by Piankoff/Rambova (1957 no 2; Keel 1980b fig 55 = *fig 39*). The text on *BR5*: *ʿȝ pḥtj m wjȝ nḥḥw ḥwj ḫftjw.f m ḥȝt wjȝ n rʿ ʿȝ hmhmt* = "...great of power in the barque of millions, slaying his enemies, in front of the barque of Reʿ, great of war cry" (cf Montet 1931-1933 pl XV:11) is comparable to the pictorial evidence.

How widespread this motif of the serpent-slaying Baʿal-Seth was, will only become clear once the seals and amulets have been studied (*2.2.2.5*). The stela Louvre AO 5055 found by de Saulcy near Sihan in Moab (cf discussion in Warmenbol 1983 63ff) is connected with the

---

1 Does *KTU* 1.10 II 23 indicate that Baʿal could fly? (cf Pope 1971 400ff).

2 Not Ilu as shown by Keel (1977b 200ff).

motif under discussion by Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 320-321 fig 97 = *fig 39a*). As it falls outside the time limit of this study, it is excluded.

2.2.2 Seals, amulets and other art in miniature

In this section, items in the medium of miniature art are discussed. Each sub-section begins with a study of the cylinder seals, followed by the scarabs, stamp seals and other amulets.

The remarks on the relationship between Baʿal and the Mesopotamian Addu (*2.2.1.1*) and his Egyptian counterpart Seth (*2.2.1.2*) will not be repeated here, nor the remarks on the methodology of identifying the deity.

There are many more depictions that can be connected with Baʿal in some way or another, as is the case with Reshef in the medium of miniature art. The sources, therefore, had to be selected. The catalogue does not pretend to be complete. Preference has been given to seals which come from a definite stratigraphic context. This section is written, keeping in mind the problematic situation regarding the dating of Syrian-type cylinder seals, as already stated above (*2.1.2*). It is impossible to make a clear chronological distinction between the so-called first and second Syrian groups of seals according to styles alone (Moortgat-Correns 1955). Some seals of unknown provenance have also been included. All items from outside Canaan (eg Anatolia, Cyprus and Mesopotamia) have been excluded. Baʿal is taken as a West-Semitic weather god, who can be distinguished from his Anatolian (Teshub) and Mesopotamian (Addu) counterparts.

The items in the catalogue are subdivided into the following categories:

(i) The god with a raised hand or a raised weapon, called "the menacing god" (*BM1a-16*).

(ii) The figure without weapons, called "Baʿal-Seth standing" (*BM17-44*).

(iii) Baʿal-Seth standing on a lion (*BM45-68*).

(iv) Baʿal-Seth standing on a horse (*BM69-73*).

(v) Baʿal-Seth the serpent, lion and monster slayer (*BM74-87*).

The subdivisions of each of these categories are stated in the introduction to each section.

2.2.2.1 The menacing god (BM1a-BM16)

Introduction

This type shows a striding god brandishing a weapon above his head, or holding a raised hand in a threatening way. The Akkadian inscription on the cylinder *fig 29* (cf *2.2.1.1* above) identifies the god with the raised weapon as the storm god Addu (= Canaanite Baʿal). The figures depicted on the items discussed here are in the same *pose*. They can, therefore, also be identified as the Akkadian Addu or the Canaanite Baʿal.

However, the *menacing pose* is also applicable to the god Reshef, as already indicated (*2.1.1.1*, *2.1.2.1*, *2.1.3.1*). Other criteria must be used to distinguish between the menacing Reshef and the menacing Baʿal. These are: the hairlock, the bull and the lightning bolt/fork which are attributes of the weather god (Vanel 1965):

(i) The *lock of hair* shown on *BR1* is a typical attribute of Baʿal, but not of Reshef.

(ii) The *bull* is a symbol of Baʿal (*2.2.1.3*). It is held on a leash (*fig 29*) or serves as a pedestal[1] for the weather god. The weather god stands on a bull, as on an Ugaritic cylinder (Schaeffer 1956 26 fig 34 = *fig 40*). On an Arslan Tash relief (Börker-Klähn 1982 no 250; Keel 1980b fig 294 = *fig 40a*) from the 8th century the weather god stands with lightning bolts in his hands.

(iii) Another attribute which identifies the weather god (Prinz 1915 126ff; Vanel 1965) is the *lightning* symbol[2]. However, no item could be found of a figure (identifiable as Baʿal) showing a light-

---

1 Seidl (in *RlA* III 485§4f, 487§7a and 1989 146); cf also Demircioğlu (1939); Frankfort (1939 162ff); Pritchard (1969b nos 537 [third from the right], 538 [left]); Özgüç (1965 59-60); Vanel (1965) and Ward (1910 270ff). Cf also the later depictions of the storm god (eg Pritchard 1969b nos 500, 501, 531).

2 Cf van Buren (1945 67ff); Frank (1906 30ff); Jacobstahl (1906); Potratz (1965 372-373 figs 7-9); Schlobies (1925); Seidl (in *RlA* III 485§4f and 1989 103ff).

ning fork or lightning. More typical of the iconography of Baʿal is the menacing figure with a raised weapon or hand. On items which have been studied, the lightning bolt is not the trident-like type as is usual for the god Addu (*figs 30, 40a*)[1]. It is more like the symbol of the Anatolian weather god, which resembles the (hieroglyphic) Hittite ideogram W (Calmeyer-Seidl 1983 151; cf Vanel 1965 58ff and 111ff with figs 57-58, 60 and 66-68 and here *fig 40*). These figures are identified as representing Teshub (or Taru-Tarhu) and not Baʿal.[2]

Excluded are items which have no attributes that can be specifically connected with Baʿal and items of uncertain dating, but which are placed in MBIIB (c 1750-1550) on account of their style.[3]

Catalogue

BM1a Ward plaque. Present location unknown. Found at Saqqara or Dashur.

Object: Rectangular plaque of steatite with green grounding, 1,8 (l) x 1,25 (w) x 0,65 (h) cm. Four edges, engraved intaglio (obverse and reverse) and in relief (edges), images on obv and rev. *Date*: c 1450 (terminus ante quem).

Published: Ward 1902 107 pl XIII no 339:obv. *Literature*: Leibovitch 1943 68.

Description: Two figures stand on a *nbw*-sign (𓋞). To the left is a larger figure, facing right with a brandished weapon. The headdress is unclear, but there is a tassel on the dress (?). In front is a plant-like sceptre (like *BM8*?). To the right is a smaller figure (pharaoh?).

Identification: The pose of the figure on the left can fit both Baʿal and Reshef[4], but the sceptre is reminiscent of Baʿal. [plant spear]

Inscription: *mn* (*ḫpr*) *rʿ* (praenomen of Tuthmosis III).

---

1 Cf Seidl (in *RlA* III 485§4f) and Vanel (1965 31ff with figs 9ff, 71-78).

2 Eg the figure on the cylinder in the Ashmolean museum (Buchanan 1966 no 993), cited by Kühne (1980 no 63) as a depiction of Baʿal. The figure carries a lightning bolt which is more typical of Teshub. On the Anatolian weather god cf also Deighton (1982).

3 *RS* 17.248 (Schaeffer 1956 40-41, 46 figs 63-64); Rockefeller I. 5925 (Grant 1932 II pl XLVIII:1020; Parker 1949 6 pl II:2; cf Vanel 1965 102); *RS* 58/21.11 (Kühne 1980 112-113 no 60); Rockefeller 36.1984 (Parker 1949 10 pl II:15A; A Mazar 1978 7 fig 3) and Rockefeller 35.39779 (Petrie 1934 5 pls IX:354, XII:2).

4 Ward has Reshef.

BM1 Fekheryeh. Present location unknown. Tell Fekheryeh.

Object: Cylinder seal[1], 2 (h) cm. *Date:* 13th century.

Published: Kantor in McEwan 1958 78-79 pl 73:XLIV*. *Literature*: Culican 1970 28-29 fig Ia*; Keel 1984b 61 150 fig 51*, 1986a 75 fig 27*; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 126-127 fig 159*; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 97:6*.

Description: A bird-headed figure stands in a knee-length kilt with three tassels between the legs, holding a plant sceptre. To the right of the figure is a sitting figure in a long dress[2], with a long streamer. The sitting figure holds a staff with a dove on top[3] in the left hand and the right hand is in a gesture of greeting. In front of the sitting figure stands a barefooted striding god facing left, with a kilt and tassels like the first figure[4]. On the head is a crown with a knob[5] and a long lock of hair[6]. The left hand/fist is raised in a menacing pose and the right hand holds a staff which is also held by the sitting figure. To the right is a smaller figure, a sun-disk in a crescent and to the left of the standing figure a smaller staff.

Identification: The third figure can be identified as Baᶜal[7], although the weapon is missing. The pose is as on the inscribed *fig 29* and the lock is typical (*BR1*). [lock]

BM2 Antakya 8908 (AT/37/228). Antakya Museum. Tell Atchana (Alalakh), level IV, trench H.

Object: Fragment of a clay jarstopper with a cylinder seal impression, 1,5 (h) x 0,8 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1365.

---

1 For the close relationship between this seal and the Nuzi (ie Mitannian) glyptic see Kantor and the Nuzi seals (Porada 1947) quoted in the following footnotes.

2 According to Keel this is a goddess.

3 For such standards see the Nuzi seals (Porada 1947 102, 115 nos 2, 16-17, 52, Kantor 78). On the symbolism of the dove see Keel. BM 1900.S-21.1 (*fig 41*) also has a dove. The Imar seal Msk. 75.9 (Beyer 1982b 67-68 fig 13) has the "warrior-weather" gods holding birds as well (cf also Kühne 1980 no 60).

4 On the tassels cf the Nuzi (Porada 1947 nos 659 and 728, Frankfort 1939 pl XLIIIi [Mitannian]) and the Syrian seals (Seyrig 1963 pl XXI:2). For two tassels cf the cylinders in Porada (1948a no 1031 [Mitannian] and Porada 1947 [Nuzi] nos 257, 512 and 517). *Fig 41* has four tassels.

5 Not spiked as on *BR1*. Cf for this headdress the Nuzi examples (Porada 1947 nos 637-638, 663, cf 726-728, 781, 810).

6 For this curl see *BR1* (two curls), *BP1* and even *BB2* below.

7 Culican identifies it as the weather god Baᶜal-Teshub.

Published: Woolley 1955 264 pl LXIII nos 68, 69. *Literature*: Collon 1975 117 no 213* pl XXVI:213.[1]

Description: A god with a headdress with a sharp point, horns and a lock stands barefooted and faces right. He is dressed in a decorated short kilt, right hand raised. He brandishes a mace in the right hand and holds a sling in the left[2]. To the right is a winged god holding a large *ʿnḫ* (☥) in the left hand. On the far right are a sacred tree with birds and a monkey. Between the two figures is another larger *ʿnḫ*[3].

Identification: The figure left can be identified as the Canaanite Baʿal because of the pose, the raised weapon and the lock. [lock]

BM3 BM 130652 (1939.6.13, 120). British Museum, London. Tell Atchana (Alalakh) AT/39/89, square G16, house 39/B, room 4, level IV.

Object: Cylinder seal of chlorite, 2,35 (h) x 1,25 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1365.

Published: Woolley 1955 180 pl LXIV no 73. *Literature*: Collon 1982 75 no 48.

Description: A deity sits on a stool holding a goblet. To the right is a tree and two other deities. The second one strides to the right and stands with raised hand in a menacing pose. He has a crown with horns on the sides and a lock at the back. In his right hand held in front of him, he holds a weapon which looks like some kind of plant; below is a disk.[4]

Identification: The god on the right can be identified as the Canaanite Baʿal because of the pose, the lock and the plant-like weapon. [lock/plant weapon]

BM4 Msk 73.1066. Aleppo Museum. Meskene (Emar).

Object: Impression on a cylinder seal, 9 (h) x 4 (d) cm. *Date*: LB (1500-1200).

Published: Beyer 1982a 66-68 fig 10*.

Description: On the left is a god with a lock, dressed in a short kilt; the headdress is lost. The right hand is raised in a menacing pose. The left hand holds an axe, another

1 Excluded here are the other impressions from Alalakh which do not always show definite weapons or the context (Collon 1975 nos 200, 206-208, 212, 214-216, 219 and 223). The item discussed here serves as an example of the Alalakh items. Cf also Collon (1975 180, 184 with pl XXVI); Klengel (1965b) and Woolley (1955 pl LXV:109).

2 Could this be an Egyptian *ʿnḫ*?

3 Cf *fig 29* and *fig 33*.

4 Collon describes it as a "combined mace and lightning symbol or god sign". For this type of weapon cf *BR1* and *BM5* below.

weapon (spear?) and a bull on a rein[1]. To the right is a god with a raised hand in a gesture of greeting, a large Egyptian *ʿnḫ* (☥) and another, unclear figure with a raised hand.

Identification: The first figure can be identified as the Canaanite Baʿal (pose, lock and bull). [lock/bull]

BM5 RS 9273. Aleppo museum? Ras Shamra (Ugarit).

Object: Cylinder seal of black stone. *Date*: 1600-1350.

Published: Schaeffer 1949 fig 13:1*. *Literature*: Hillmann 1965 51ff fig 7; Schaeffer-Forrer 1983 pls I:3*, VI:1*, XII:18*, XIII:15*; Vanel 1965 82, 176-177 fig 39*.

Description: A barefooted figure strides to the left. It wears a horned(?) crown[2] with a lock and a decorated knee-length kilt. Above the head is a winged sun-disk ( )[3]. The right hand holds a spear with the sharp end pointing down, the top of the shaft spreads out into a plant at the top. The raised left hand wields a mace[4].

Identification: The figure can be identified as the Canaanite Baʿal because of the pose, the plant-like spear and the lock. [lock/plant weapon]

BM6 Byblos 1658. Beirut? Byblos, level IV north of hall C.

Object: Steatite cylinder seal, 2,7 (h) x 1,3 (d) cm. *Date*: LB (1500-1200).

---

1 Cf *BM6* below and the MB Syrian seals in Porada (1948a no 964E [= *fig 29*], cf 967E); van der Osten (1936 no 94 [cf line drawings in Schroer in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 106 fig 030 and 180 fig 0177]) and the Alalakh seal in Moortgat-Correns (1955 91 fig 3). On a Syrian seal he is shown with two bulls (Schaeffer 1949 fig 13:3). Baʿal is shown with a small bull statue before him on the MB Ebla seal (*fig 33*). Cf also the earlier Old Anatolian and Old Syrian cylinders in Williams-Forte (1983 39-40 figs 1-3, 6 [especially the naked goddess on a bull held by Baʿal on fig 11]); cf Vanel (1965 31ff with figs 10-14) and for the first millennium Orthmann (1971 233-252). For a detailed discussion on Baʿal and the bull see the discussion under *2.2.1.3*. Baʿal-Seth is shown with a bull-head on *BR19* above.

2 The horns on Schaeffer's drawing look queer, especially the one standing back (cf Hillmann 51).

3 Cf Hillmann (52ff). For Baʿal under the winged sun-disk see *figs* 33 (Ebla) and *42* (Daba) below; also Williams-Forte (1983 fig 13).

4 The closest analogy is the Baʿal stela from Ugarit (*BR1*).

Published: Dunand I 1937 pl CXXIV: 1658, 1939 109. *Literature*: Seeden 1980 pl 138:5*.

Description: A figure strides to the right. It wears a crown with horns on the side with a lock or a streamer. He wears a decorated knee-length kilt. The right hand is raised and holds a mace; the other arm hangs down (hand missing). In front of the figure is a small reclining bull (held with the left hand on a leash as on *BM4*?). The figure is flanked by two winged genii[1] on animals; and other fauna.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the Canaanite Baʿal because of the pose and the bull. [bull]

BM7 Rockefeller 35.4442. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Beitin (Bethel), found in dump with MBII and LBIA objects.

Object: Cylinder seal of frit with vertical lines on the sides, 2,6 (h) x 1,1 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1300.[2]

Published: Albright 1934 7-8 fig 1; Kelso 1968 85-86, 121 pl 43.

Literature: Albright 1960 101 fig 23*; Digard 1975 no 1618; Dussaud 1934 202*-203; Frankfort 1939 pl XLIV; Fulco 1976 9-10 (E20); Giveon 1980 146; Gray 1964 146; Leclant 1960 10; Leibovitch 1942 438ff; A Mazar 1978 12 fig 30; Mercer 1935 194; Nougayrol 1939 55 pl II EB.1; Parker 1949 40 pl XXVI:180; *PM* VII 373; Pritchard 1943 67, 1969b no 468*; Rowe 1936 251-252 S.60 (A), figure on title page*; Schulman 1979 83n50; Seeden 1980 pl 138:27*; Stadelmann 1967 43, 105; Weippert 1988 307-308 fig 3.53:2*; Welten 1977 120 fig 32:4* and Winter 1987 230 fig 214*.

Description: Two figures are facing each other, both holding spears in front, with an inscription in between. The figure left is striding to the right, dressed in a short kilt. The headdress is the Egyptian blue crown (*ḫprš*), with two protruding horns[3]. The figure is raising a *ḫpš*-sword () in the right hand and holding a spear in the left hand.

---

1 Are they a threat as on *BM42* and *87*?

2 Pritchard has 18th dynasty because of the writing (?).

3 Schulman describes this as the Egyptian blue crown and identifies the figure with the Egyptian king. However, here are definitely horns and no uraeus symbol which makes an identification with the king doubtful. If this is the blue crown and the identification with a god (in Egypt gods are not depicted with the blue crown, cf Strauss in *LdÄ* III 814) is correct, it would be the second example of a god with the blue crown. The other example is *BM67* (but cf Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 291f on this). Baʿal-Seth occurs with the double crown of Egypt (*BM40-41*, *70*ff) and with the *ꜣtf*-crown (*BM68* below). These indicate that the crowns could vary.

The figure on the right is a goddess dressed in a long skirt, with *ꜣtf*-crown (𓋚) with two long streamers; the left hand is hanging down passively[1].

Identification: The figure left can be identified as Baᶜal[2] in a warrior-like pose. He brandishes the *ḫpš*-sword like the pharaoh on *BR3*. An identification as Reshef (Rowe, Leibovitch) is less likely, because Reshef is not shown with a raised hand and a spear in front (cf also *BR2*)[3]. The spear in front reminds one of Reshef, but may be there to balance the spear of the goddess. The second figure is identified by the inscription as Astarte.[4][?]

Inscription: *ᶜṯrt* = Astarte.

BM8 Amman J. 9808. Jordan Archaeological Museum, Amman. Tell Deir ᶜAlla, Franken 1964, locus N310, burnt layer east of cella of LB temple.

Object: Cylinder seal with single border, 2,8 (h) x 1,5 (d) cm. *Date*: 13th-12th centuries.

Published: Amiet 1987 116 no 119. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Keel-Leu/ Schroer 1989 312 fig 113*.

Description: There are three figures: a large one on the left with a high headdress strides to the right with the right hand raised, holding an unclear weapon[5]. The left hand is straight in front, holding a plant-like sceptre or staff. In the centre there is a smaller figure with a staff, the right arm is hanging down. To the right is another figure with a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) which can be identified as Ptah (𓁰). There are various decorations and small objects between the figures.

Identification: Amiet identifies the larger figure as the pharaoh. Keel makes the first two figures two Canaanite deities. The centre figure is smaller and may be the pharaoh. The figure on the right is definitely Ptah. Because of the pose, the larger figure can be

---

1 According to Kelso with an *ᶜnḫ*, but this is not visible.

2 Also identified as Baᶜal by Dussaud, Nouyagrol, Winter, *PM*, etc.

3 Fulco has another Astarte, but the figure is male.

4 Note that Weippert proposes that three gods may be represented. The second one is only indicated by the inscription. This seems a possible solution for the problem why only the one god is identified by an inscription, but does not affect the identification of the first figure as Baᶜal. On other examples where the menacing god and his consort appear together and face each other, the god is shown in his typical "menacing pose" and the goddess with a spear (Winter 1987 figs 201, 205).

5 Or is this only part of the edge?

Baʿal or Reshef. The plant spear (cf *BR1*, *BM5*) indicates that the figure may be identified as Baʿal. [plant spear]

BM9 Borowski 217. Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem (BLMJ 6876). Provenance unknown (Syrian).

Object: Cylinder seal of serpentine, 1,9 (l) x 0,85 (d) cm. *Date*: 1600-1300.

Published: Beran 1981 263-264 no 217; Muscarella 1981 247 no 217.

Description: A figure strides to the right. It is shown twice (above and below). The right hand is lifted; in the left hand is a spear with point facing downwards and branching into a plant above (as on *BR1* and *BM5*). The figure is dressed in a short kilt with a large tassel between the legs. The helmet has a sharp point (*BR1*!). On the waist is a dagger (*BR1* and *BB1-2*).

Identification: The pose, crown, dagger and plant spear are similar to that of the figure on *BR1*. [plant spear]

BM10 Damascus 107[1]. Damascus National Museum. Purchased in 1955.

Object: Cylinder seal of steatite, 2,75 (l) x 1,6 (d), bored 0,3 cm. *Date*: c 1100.

Published: Kühne 1980 125-126 no 74.

Description: Two striding gods face each other. The one on the right has a horned crown and holds a shield in the left hand; the right hand hangs down holding a weapon[2]. The other god with a lock also has horns on his head, while the right hand is raised. His left hand holds an unclear object (ring?)[3]. In the middle above is a star and below is an ☥ (*ʿnḫ*). To their right below are two lions facing each other[4]. Above are a fish and a griffon.[5]

---

1 On the style see especially Kühne.

2 Kühne has "perhaps a sickle-sword", but this is unclear.

3 Kühne connects the objects that they are holding with the "ring and the rod" motif. These are typical symbols of the Mesopotamian gods: van Buren (1943); Porada (1948a no 391E) and now also Jacobsen (1987).

4 For this motif with Reshef see *RM4*.

5 Cf Kühne on these animals.

Identification: The attributes that the gods are holding are difficult to identify. The pose and lock of the figure on the left are typical of Baʿal[1]. Can the figure on the right be Reshef with a shield? [lock]

BM11 Aleppo M. 4592. Aleppo Museum. Obtained in 1959.

Object: Cylinder seal of haematite, dyed red, 2,3 (l) x 1,2 (d) cm. *Date*: 14th century.

Published: Hammade/Hitchcock 1987 no 166.

Description: A winged goddess holds two animals[2]. To her left is a bird, a guilloche pattern and another animal. To her right is a menacing god striding to the left. He is dressed in a short kilt, a pointed hat with a lock and is brandishing a mace in his raised left hand. He is holding another weapon in front of him. To the right is a worshipper dressed in a long garment with one hand in a gesture of greeting.

Identification: The menacing god can be identified as Baʿal[3] because of the pose and the lock. [lock]

BM12 Aleppo M. 1024 (upper register). Aleppo Museum. Provenance unknown.

Object: Cylinder seal of haematite. *Date*: 15th century.

Published: Hammade/Hitchcock 1987 no 168.

Description: A menacing god strides to the right, dressed in a short kilt and a pointed hat with a long lock. He holds a spear in front of him with the point facing upwards; the other hand is raised. To his right stands a group of four worshippers with their hands in a gesture of praise, and another figure (god?).

Identification: The pose and lock of the menacing god are typical of Baʿal[4]. For the spear compare *BR2* and *BM7* (cf *BM14*). [lock]

---

1 Kühne interprets them as representing two aspects of the same god: the weather god and the warrior god.

2 Hammade/Hitchcock identify the animals as a scorpion and a fish. According to them the goddess is Ishtar. On the winged goddess see Collon (1975 182ff, pl XX). For the winged goddess with scorpion facing the weather god see also Winter (1983 fig 201). Ishtar with Baʿal and a worshipper is also shown on *fig 33*.

3 Hammade/Hitchcock also have "Baʿal".

4 Hammade/Hitchcock have "probably Baʿal".

BM13 Aleppo M. 6053. Aleppo Museum. Obtained 1980.

Object: Damaged cylinder seal of haematite, 2,1 (l) x 0,9 (d) cm. *Date*: 13th century.

Published: Hammade/Hitchcock 1987 no 169.

Description: A menacing god strides to the left, wearing a short kilt, a pointed crown with horns on the sides and a long lock at his back. He raises an unclear weapon above his head and holds another unclear weapon in front of him. To his right are two other figures. There are a worshipper with a conical headdress and a long garment, with an open hand; and another deity (?) of which only the horned (?) headdress is visible.

Identification: The menacing god can be identified as Baʿal[1] because of the pose and the lock. [lock]

BM14 Damascus 72. Damascus National Museum. Purchased 1954.

Object: Haematite cylinder seal, 2,05 (h) x 0,95 (d), bored 0,25 cm. *Date*: 13th-12th centuries.

Published: Kühne 1980 115-116 no 63.

Description: A menacing god with a short kilt strides to the right. He holds a spear in front of him with his left hand, point facing upwards. The right hand is raised, brandishing a weapon. To his right is a Hathor face, with a Kassite cross (with four points) below. There are also a stylized tree with a serpent, and a horned animal with a point in a circle under its horns.

Identification: The figure could perhaps be identified as Baʿal because of the pose and spear (*BR2*, *BM7* and *12*). It could also be Reshef. [?]

BM15 Farouk. Present location and provenance unknown.

Object: Plaque of steatite, 1,8 (l) x 1,25 (w) x 0,65 (h) cm, with six sides, image on side one. *Date*: c 1450.

Published: Leibovitch 1943 67-69 fig 20:1*. *Literature*: Jaeger 1982 355n941.

Description: See *BM1a*.

Identification: See *BM1a*.

Inscription: See *BM1a*.

BM16 Ashmolean 1914.1. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Bought by TE Lawrence in Aleppo.

Object: Cylinder seal of "steatite", 2,5 (l) x 1 (h) cm, worn and chipped, dentated borders. *Date*: c 14th-13th centuries.

---

1 Hammade/Hitchcock have "perhaps Baʿal".

Published: Buchanan 1966 197 pl 61:994; Hogarth 1920 235.

Description: A goddess in a long garment stands on a lion (Ishtar). She faces a god with a raised weapon in his left hand; the weapon in the other hand is unclear[1]. He stands on a bull and is facing left. The god wears a kilt; on his head is a pointed and horned headdress. Between the two deities is a plant in a vase. To the right of the god is a man with a rod, being attacked (?)[2] by a male figure with the tail of a scorpion. Below them is a sphinx.

Identification: The menacing god on the bull can be identified as Baᶜal because of the bull pedestal (*BM85* and *BS1*). [bull]

Synthesis

The type which depicts a striding god brandishing a weapon above his head or with a raised hand in a menacing way is unique, as there are no examples on scarabs, not even in Palestine where scarabs and stamp seals form by far the majority of the seals[3]. The motif seems to have been quite popular on cylinder seals from Western Asia.

The items that are discussed originate from Egypt (*BM1a*), the north Syrian sites of Fekheryeh (*BM1*), Alalakh (*BM2-3*), Emar (*BM4*) and Ugarit (*BM5*). Other items come from the port of Byblos (*BM6*), Bethel in Palestine (*BM7*) and Deir ᶜAlla in Jordan (*BM8*). Not much can be said on the *Sitz im Leben* of the items. In addition to the use of the seals as protective amulets, they are used as a seal on a jar stopper (*BM2*) and to seal a cuneiform tablet (*BM4*)[4]. These seals are made of the more common steatite (*BM6, 8, 10, 16*), but also of chlorite (*BM3*), black stone (*BM5*), frit (*BM7*), serpentine (*BM9*) and haematite (*BM11-14*).

BM1a, 15 have the well-known name *mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* (Jaeger 1982), the praenomen of Tuthmosis III, which was also used in later periods. The only item with the name of a deity (Astarte) is *BM7*.

The figure strides right or sometimes left (*BM1, 3, 5, 11, 13, 16*) and is shown with the hand lifted above the head in a menacing way

1 Buchanan has "extending lightning symbol(?)".

2 For Baᶜal as protector against demons see also *BM42* and *87*.

3 According to Keel (in Keel/Schroer 1985 20), cylinder seals found in legal excavations in Palestine form only 4-5 % of all seals from this region.

4 See lately Collon (1987 113ff).

(sometimes with a weapon). The weapon can be a mace (*BM2, 5-6, 11*) or a *hpš*-sword (*BM7). BM1* and *BM3* show a balled fist.

The figure of Baᶜal is shown twice on *BM9*. He holds a spear on *BM7, 12* and *14*, but a more plant-like weapon on *BM1a, 3, 5, 8-9* and *15. BM4* may be an axe. On *BM1* he holds a staff together with another deity. *BM9* shows a dagger on the waist. A high headdress with a knob is visible on *BM1*. On *BM9* it is shown with a spike as on *BR1*. There are horns on the sides (*BM9, 13*). *BM7* is absolutely unique for depicting a god with the blue crown of Egypt, not with uraeus, but with the horns of Western Asiatic deities. Typical of Baᶜal is the lock, although it is missing on *BM1a, 7-8* and *14-16*. The figure is dressed in a kilt, usually decorated with tassels: there is a large single one (*BM9*) or three (*BM1*)[1], between the legs, but it can also be on the side (*BM1a, 15*?).

The items depict a wide repertoire of objects and symbols on them. Baᶜal holds the Egyptian sign for life (☥ = *ᶜnḫ*) on *BM2* (or is this only a sling?) and it is in the field on *BM2, 4, 10* (cf *fig 29* and *33*)[2]. *BM5* shows the Egyptian winged sun-disk (- cf Hillmann 1965 52ff for detail and Collon 1975 192 with pl XLVII). The *nbw*-sign () is on *BM1a, 15. BM14* has a variety of symbols.

Other figures, like animals and deities, occur with Baᶜal, but he stands alone on *BM5* and *9*. As shown by Keel (1984b 61ff and Keel/Uehlinger 1990 126-127) the *dove* is a symbol of love and symbolizes the relationship between the goddess of love and the weather god (*BM1*). However, here it is not a bird, but a symbol on a standard as known from Nuzi seals (Porada 1947).

Baᶜal is once (*BM16*) shown standing on a bull, as on *BM85* and *BS1*. He also holds a bull on a leash (*BM4* and *6*; cf also *figs 29* and *40*). *BM1* shows a falcon-headed figure and a worshipper. A royal worshipper is seen on *BM11* and a group on *BM12* (cf *BM13*). A winged deity is on *BM2* and *11* (Ishtar?), a sitting deity on *BM1, 3*. Baᶜal stands next to Ishtar (depicted on a lion) on *BM16*. Winged monsters and a series of animals are on *BM6*. There are other animals on *BM10*. The other figures

1 On *fig 41* there are four tassels.

2 Also Beyer (1982b 75) and Collon (1975 185 with pl XXVIII).

on *BM6* and *11* could be deities. *BM7* may represent on the right Astarte or Anat, depending on the relationship between the inscription and the image. In the description the figure has been identified as Astarte. Ptah as well as the pharaoh is shown on *BM8*.

As is usually the case with cylinder seals, the figure is placed within a context and in relation to other beings, so that the deeds of Baʿal can be reconstructed. He is shown with his consort on *BM1*. If the figure on the right of *BM7* is Anat, this would be interesting. The goddess Anat[1] is Baʿal's beloved in the texts from Ugarit. Is Baʿal protecting the fauna against the demons on *BM6* (cf *BM16*), as on *BM42* and *87*?

Before ending this section, mention should be made of the cylinder seal BM 1900.5-21.1 (Winter 1987 fig 484 = *fig 41*) which was purchased in Cyprus. The style is Syrian and it is dated in the LB period (Walters 1926 107[2]). A figure is striding barefooted on a reclining bull; one leg is lifted. It wears a round cap with a long lock hanging down, a short kilt with a belt and four large tassels between the legs. The right hand is raised, brandishing a mace while the left hand holds three other weapons (two maces are clear)[3]. In the middle is a (human?) figure who holds a dove and faces a sitting goddess. To the left of and behind the second figure are two hands.

The excavations of Bietak at the Hyksos capital Tell ed-Daba (Avaris?) revealed an interesting cylinder seal. It depicts a menacing god with a brandished weapon (Porada 1984 and now Uehlinger 1990 fig 1 = *fig 42*).

From the MB period comes a cylinder from Ebla depicting the menacing Baʿal (*fig 33*). Reference has also been made to the menacing Baʿal in the Phoenician period with tree-spear (*fig 31* above). The menacing god on a Arslan Tash plaque (Börker-Klähn 1982 nos 304a-b; Janowski 1989 111-112 with literature; Keel 1980b fig 97b = *fig 43*) with an incan-

1 Cassuto (1971); Kapelrud (1969) and now Loretz (1990 79ff).

2 Cf Collon (1987 73-74 no 318); Contenau (1922 37, 131 pl XXIII:166); Culican (1976 59); Kenna (1971 22 pl IX:36); Porada (1948b 181); Ward (1910 291-292 fig 897).

3 Kenna has a spear, a mace and a club. Culican identifies a spear, a mace and a whip.

tation against a demon, may also represent the menacing Baʿal (cf Cornelius 1990 30-31 fig 14).

2.2.2.2 Baʿal-Seth standing (BM17-BM44)

Introduction

This type depicts a standing figure without brandishing or even holding weapons. There are three variants:

(i) The first is the figure without wings (*BM17-BM23*).

(ii) The second is winged and flanked by uraei (𓆗) on both sides (*BM23a-BM41*).

(iii) The third is with animals (*BM42-44*).

The wingless figure is called "Baʿal", because on *BM18-19* he stands with the *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀), like the figure on the inscribed stela *BR11* which is identified as Baʿal.

Reshef is another possible candidate. He is also depicted with the *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) on the inscribed stela *RR32*. However, there are other unique symbols. Unique to Reshef is the gazelle head (also on *RR32*) which is not used in connection with the god Baʿal. The bull horns cannot be used as the only criterium, because Reshef is also depicted with such horns (*RM21* above).

The winged figure (*BM23a*ff) cannot be identified as Reshef (Cassirer 1959 and Matouk 1977 76 - cf Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 93). No winged figure was found that can clearly be identified as Reshef, as already been argued by Leibovitch (1953) and Schulman (1979; cf Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 304ff and also Dąbrowski 1992 37). Neither can the winged figure only be described as Baʿal. An iconographic tradition depicting him with wings does not exist (cf *synthesis* to *2.2.1.3*). The winged figure is rather a hybrid of the iconography of Baʿal and the iconographic tradition of the winged Seth on seals as shown by Keel.[1] On scarabs, Seth was first depicted in his "original" form - with

---

1 For the winged Seth cf Leibovitch (1953 104); Keel (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 235 figs 53-55, 303-305 figs 68-70) and te Velde (1977 19-20). Cf also the scarabs in Lanzone (1886 V/2 1146-1147) depicting Seth with uraei.

animal ears (cf *BM22* left) and a sun-disk on a uraeus (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 235 fig 53 = *fig 44a*). Later the one hand was changed into a wing (Keel 235 fig 54 = *fig 44b*). In the next stage both hands were changed to wings (Keel 305 fig 69 = *fig 44c*). The iconography of the Canaanite Baʿal took over this tradition and he is depicted with wings, flanked by uraei. This figure is named "Baʿal-Seth".

Catalogue

BM17 Byblos 7169. Beirut? Byblos, surface find 15/13.

Object: Cylinder seal with wavy borders, of green schist, 3,7 (h) x 1,35 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Dunand 1950 pl CXCII:7169, 1954 74. *Literature*: Digard 1975 no 618; Keel 1982 526 fig 50c*; Metzger 1985 pl 106:1131; Seeden 1980 pl 138:22*.

Description: A figure sits on a pedestal. On the left is a figure (cf Seeden) striding to the left on a similar pedestal. It wears a pointed headdress with a streamer and is dressed in a kilt with a tassel between the legs. In the right hand is a staff ending in a flower on top (similar to that of the sitting figure).[1] In the other hand which hangs down is a situla (Dunand). In front of the striding figure is a serpent, another plant or perhaps a stream.

Identification: The striding figure is a Canaanite god because of the streamer and the tassel. It can be identified as Baʿal and not Reshef because of the plant-like sceptre[2]. [?]

BM18 Byblos 1170. Beirut? Byblos, surface find.

Object: Carnelian scarab, 1,7 (h) x 1,2 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Dunand 1937 37-38 pl CXXVIII:1170, 1939 37-38.

Description: A figure strides to the right. It has a high headdress with horns in front and a streamer at the back. The figure holds a *wȝs*-sceptre (𓌀) in the left hand in front and the right hand is hanging down.

Identification: The figure can perhaps be identified as Baʿal when compared with the inscribed Egyptian stelae (*BR5*ff and especially *BR11*) depicting the same figure with a *wȝs*-sceptre. However, Reshef is another possibility (*RR32* - but with gazelle-horns). [?]

---

1 The photograph in Dunand is not exactly clear as far as this attribute is concerned. Can it be a *wȝs*-sceptre? The sceptre seems to be the same as the plant-like sceptre of the sitting figure, so this possibility can be excluded.

2 For this attribute of Baʿal see *2.2.2.1*.

BM19 Balah. Institute of Archaeology, University of Jerusalem. Deir el-Balah, tomb 118, reg no 272.

Object: Carnelian scarab set in gold mount, ring missing, perforated, drilled from the side of the head, base incised, 1,5 (l) x 1,15 (w) x 0,85 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Brandl in Dothan 1979 85 fig 210*.

Description: A figure dressed in a short kilt strides to the right on a base-line. It has a high headdress with horns in front and a long streamer at the back. The figure holds a *wꜣs*-sceptre (𓌀) in the left hand. The right hand hangs down.

Identification: See *BM18*.[1]

BM20 Rockefeller I. 4315. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell el-Farʿah south, tomb 542.

Object: Scarab, deeply incised, of light yellow frit; 3 (l) x 1,95 (w) x 1,1 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1175-1000 (Eggler).

Published: Petrie 1930 7 pl XXII:187*. *Literature*: Eggler 1992 163, 361 no 79*; Leibovitch 1953 107 fig 9*; Müller-Karpe 1980 pl 110:J4*; Rowe 1936 171 pl XVIII 716; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 133 no 20*.

Description: A figure is standing on a base-line striding to the right. It is bearded, with a short kilt, a high headdress with horns on top and a streamer at the back hanging on the shoulder. Both hands are hanging down. There are vertical lines on both sides which may be interpreted as twigs, symbols of fertility (Eggler 1992 163, 361n511).

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal or Reshef because of the horns and the streamer. If Eggler's interpretation of the vertical lines as twigs are correct, the figure may be the fertility god Baʿal. [?]

BM21 Institute of Archaeology E. VI 7. Institute of Archaeology, London. Tell el-Farʿah south, south end of the tell, EF 386.

Object: Scarab (glass?) with lower half lost, sunken relief, 1,4 (w) x 0,9 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Starkey/Harding 1932 30 pl LXXIII:20* (EF 386).

Description: On the left is a bearded figure with a high headdress, horns and a streamer at the back; both hands are hanging down. To the right is a figure with the Upper

---

1 Brandl has "Seth".

Egyptian red crown (𓋔), with a streamer at the back; both arms are hanging down[1]. The lower parts of their bodies are missing.

Identification: The figure on the right is the pharaoh. The figure on the left can be identified as Reshef or Baʿal. [?]

BM22 St Florian 23.F54b. St Florian Stift (Austria). Unknown provenance.

Object: Steatite scarab, bored in the length, 1,55 (l) x 0,64 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1450-1200.[2]

Published: Haslauer/Satzinger 1988 23 (b) nos 19, 21 below left.

Description: Two figures stand on a base-line facing each other. The figure on the left has animal's ears and is dressed in a long garment; the arms are hanging down. The bearded figure on the right is facing left and has a horned crown[3], a streamer at the back, with arms hanging at the sides.

Identification: The figures are identified as Seth[4] on the left and perhaps Baʿal on the right. [?]

BM23 BM 42480. British Museum, London. Provenance unknown, probably Tanis.

Object: Scarab of turquoise blue opaque glass, very much worn; 2,5 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Hall 1913 258 no 2579.

Description: A figure dressed in a short kilt strides to the right on a base-line, with a high headdress with large horns in front and a long streamer at the back. The figure may be holding what can be a misformed *wȝs*-sceptre (𓌀)[5] in the left hand and the right hand is hanging down. There are hieroglyphic signs.

Identification: The figure can perhaps be identified as Baʿal[6], as on *BM18-19*. [?]

---

1 This item is quite interesting as it is the only example from the glyptic record which shows the pharaoh in the presence of a god. Cf the stelae *BR5*ff.

2 Halslauer/Satzinger have "Hyksos", but this is impossible (letter of J Śliwa).

3 Halslauer/Satzinger describe the object as the double crown.

4 Cf Pritchard (1969b no 573:28) and *RR34*, *RM2-3*.

5 This is not very clear, but it cannot be a sword (Hall). It is more likely a badly executed sceptre; the lower part is not visible because the scarab is much worn.

6 Hall has "Seth".

Inscription: *rᶜ ᶜ3*[1] *pḥtj* = "Reᶜ, great in power".

BM23a Fribourg SK 191a. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Provenance unknown.

Object: Steatite cylinder seal, 1,65 (h) x 0,8 (d) cm, Egyptian style. *Date*: c 1200.

Published: Keel/Uehlinger 1990 42-43 fig 45.

Description: A bearded figure with raised wings strides to the left. It is dressed in a short kilt, with a horned headdress and a long streamer at the back. The figure is flanked by two uraei (𓆗) facing away from the figure.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baᶜal-Seth because of the wings (*synthesis* to *2.2.1.3* and *introduction* to *2.2.2.2*). [wings]

BM24 Bubastis B1664. Present location unknown. Tell Basta (Bubastis), found in a pit grave next to a skeleton.

Object: Steatite scarab, base with border, 1,8 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: El-Sawi 1979 37 figs 52-54* no B1664. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 305-306 fig 75*.

Description: A human-headed figure with raised wings strides to the right on a *nb*-sign (𓎟 = lord). It wears a horned crown, with a streamer behind. The figure is flanked by two upright uraei (𓆗), facing away from it.[2]

Identification: See previous item.

BM25 Saft. Saft el-Hinna (Goshen) cemetery.

Object: Scarab, 1,3 (l) x 0,95 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.

Published: Petrie 1906 45 pl XXXVII:20 (329)*. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1a*; Giveon 1980 149; Hornung/Staehelin 1976 707.

Description: See *BM24*, but without the *nb*-sign[3].

Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM26 Buhen. Buhen. Present location unknown.

Object: Scarab of glazed steatite, well preserved, 6 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

---

1 *nfr* (𓄤) is a corruption for *ᶜ3* (𓉻).

2 For a figure with *arms* flanked by two uraei see Petrie (1930 pl XXXI:285).

3 The description is based on the drawing in Petrie.

Published: Randall-Maciver/Woolley 1911 pl 57 10067.
Description: See *BM24*.
Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM27 Byblos 7128. Beirut? Byblos.
Object: Scarab of steatite with gold, 1,3 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.
Published: Dunand 1950 pl CXCIX:7128, 1954 69.
Description: As *BM24*.
Identification: See *BM23a*[1].

BM28 Byblos 1290. Beirut? Byblos.
Object: Scarab of white paste, 1,2 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.
Published: Dunand 1937 pl CXXIX:1290, 1939 48.
Description: As *BM24*, but here on the *nbw*-sign (𓋞).
Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM29 Byblos 7656. Beirut? Byblos.
Object: Scarab of white enamelled paste, 1,5 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.
Published: Dunand 1950 pl CC:7656, 1954 132-133.
Description: As *BM24*.
Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM30 Byblos 6903. Beirut? Byblos.
Object: Scarab 1,1 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.
Published: Dunand 1950 pl CXCIX:6903, 1954 22.
Description: As *BM24*, but with sun-disk (⊙) above. Here the figure is facing left.
Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM31 MHQ 725 (base)[2]. Haʿaretz Museum, Tel Aviv. Tell Qasile, stratum X locus Q1.

---

1 Dunand has "un aspect du dieu Seth".

2 Cf also above *RM24* for the side (3).

Object: Pyramid-formed stamp seal, perforation in upper half, of opaque glass, 1,25 (w) x 1,55 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1150.

Published: B Mazar 1967 64-67 pls 4-5. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1d*; Hestrin 1970 nos 27-29; Keel 1977a 98-99 fig 71*; A Mazar 1977 235f; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 123 no 1.

Description: As *BM24*, but here the figure is facing left (as *BM30*).

Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM32 Rockefeller I. 4318. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell Farʿah south, tomb 542.

Object: Scarab of yellow steatite, base with border; 1,13 (l) x 0,9 (w) x 0,5 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1000.

Published: Petrie 1930 pl XXII:186*. *Literature*: Eggler 1992 161-162, 360 no 78*; Leibovitch 1953 107 fig 10*; Matouk 1977 76; Rowe 1936 171 pl XVIII no 715; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 133 no 21*.

Description: See *BM24*.

Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM33 Rockefeller J. 1067. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell Farʿah south, tomb 635.

Object: Scarab, deeply incised, damaged on the right; of yellow steatite, c 1,4 (l) x 1 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1000.

Published: Petrie 1930 pl XXI:308*. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1f*; Eggler 1992 161-162, 350-351 no 71*; Keel in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 305-306 fig 73*; Matouk 1977 76, 337:267*; Rowe 1936 192 pl XX no 811.

Description: See *BM24*.

Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM34 Fribourg SK 71. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Purchased in Jerusalem.

Object: Scarab, bored of steatite, 1,3 (l) x 0,95 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1000.

Published: Keel 1977b 98-99 fig 72* pl IIa. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1e*; Keel 1976 42 fig 9b*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 305-306 fig 71* pl XVII:1.

Description: As *BM24*. Here the figure stands on a base-line. Also visible in front of the face is a sun-disk (⊙).

Identification: See *BM23a*.[1]

BM35 Fribourg SK 72. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Purchased in Jerusalem.
Object: Scarab, bored of steatite, 1,42 (l) x 1,08 (w) x 0,81 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1000.
Published: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 305-306 fig 72* pl XVII:2.
Description: As *BM34*.
Identification: See *BM23a*.

BM36 BM 16771. British Museum, London. Presented by Meyrick 1879.
Object: Plaque with rounded ends of green-glazed steatite; 1,4 (l) cm. *Date*: 1490-1436.[2]
Published: Hall 1913 113 no 1145. *Literature*: Jaeger 1982 84:6.
Description: Obverse: See *BM24*. Reverse: inscription.
Identification: See *BM23a*.
Inscription: *mn-ḫpr-rʿ* = Menkheperreʿ (praenomen of Tuthmosis III).

BM37 UC 38105. University College, London[3]. Origin unknown.
Object: Scarab of steatite (?), 2,4 (l) x 1,8 (w) x 1 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.
Published: Petrie 1925 12, 28 pl XV:1079. *Literature*: Matouk 1977 76.
Description: See *BM24*, but note that here the figure is standing on a base-line. The streamer at the back is longer. On the sides and between the legs are tassels. There is a uraeus on the right, but it is not clear to the left of the figure. Above the head is a small *nb* (⌓) sign, or is it a debased sun-disk (⊙) as on *BM34-35*?
Identification: See *BM23*a.

BM38 Zagreb 247. Zagreb Archaeological Museum. Provenance unknown.
Object: Scarab of light green glaze; 1,3 (l) x 0,9 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

---

1 Keel still has Reshef in 1976 and 1977b, but now (1990) identifies the figure as Baʿal-Seth.

2 Dating according to the royal name on the reverse of the plaque. Note that the name was used in later periods as well, so the dating is a terminus ante quem.

3 In the same collection are other scarabs with similar figures: UC 38066, 38107 and perhaps 38104 (Petrie 1925 pl XV:1078, 1082 and 1078).

Published: Monnet Saleh 1970 no 247*. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 306.

Description: See *BM24*, but here the figure is flanked by an upright uraeus and what looks like a *mȝʿt*-feather (𓆄)[1].

Identification: See *BM24*.[2]

BM39 Basel 707. Fraser-Von Bissing collection, Basel. Provenance unknown.

Object: Scarab of brown steatite; 1,4 (l) x 1 (w) x 0,65 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Hornung/Staehelin 1976 93, 331* pl 79 no 707. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1a*; Giveon 1980 149; Keel in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 305-306 fig 74*.

Description: See *BM24*.

Identification: See *BM23a*.[3]

BM40 SM 904/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (ex collection Michaelidis). Provenance unknown.

Object: Scarab of steatite, 1,6 (l) x 1,2 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Leclant 1960 64 fig 33b. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 34-35 fig 1g*; Matouk 1977 76.

Description: As *BM24*, but here the figure wears the double crown of Egypt (𓋖)[4]. The Egyptian sign *t* (𓏏) appears in front of the figure's face. In this case the uraei are hanging from the waist.[5]

Identification: See *BM23a*[6].

---

1 A mistake for two uraei? Monnet Saleh has two plumes, but the one on the left looks more like a uraeus (also Keel).

2 Monnet Saleh has "Bâal?".

3 Hornung/Staehelin have "Reschef ?", but this is not possible as the figure is winged. This view is also rejected by Giveon. Keel has "Baʿal-Seth".

4 That is the white crown placed inside the red crown with a projection in front. It occurs on the next scarab.

5 Cf the examples with uraei hanging from the waist of the pharaoh in Wiese (1990 19).

6 Leclant includes it in his study on the Canaanite goddess Astarte.

BM41 Reitler 2. Wilfried Israel Museum, Kibbutz Hazorea? Provenance unknown.

Object: Scarab. *Date*: c 1300-1200.

Published: Giveon 1973 180 fig 2*.

Description: A bearded figure with raised wings strides to the left on a *nb*-sign (𓎟). On its head is the double Egyptian crown with upright projection in front (𓋖) and around its waist the royal *šndjt*-kilt (𓋳)[1]. In front of the figure is a plant and in the other three spaces are Egyptian signs[2].

Identification: The figure is identified as Baʿal-Seth (not with Reshef[3]) because of the wings. [wings]

BM42 Rockefeller 35.4011. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell el-ʿAjjul (Petrie 1933-1934).

Object: Haematite[4] cylinder seal, "very finely engraved" (Petrie), bored and deeply incised, 1,8 (h) x 0,8 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.

Published: Petrie 1934 4-5 pl XII:1. *Literature*: Cornelius 1989 60n30; Digard 1975 no 1456; Keel 1980b 336 fig 485*; Nougayrol 1939 54-55 pl IX CXI (TA. 18); Parker 1949 9 pl II no 13; Porada 1948a 183[5]; Rowe 1936 251 pl XXVII (S. 60).

Description: A standing figure faces right. It is dressed in a short decorated kilt and has a hairlock at the back of the head. The figure holds a rampant lion with open jaws by the tail with the right hand. There is a horned animal in the raised left hand.[6] To the figure's right is a human on the ground with his hand in a gesture of prayer. The human is being attacked from behind by a *Mischwesen*. The *Mischwesen* is winged, with a tail and horns on the head, and has a beak, but human legs and arms.[7] A human head lies behind the demon[8].

---

1 For such a kilt cf the figure on *BR14* and *17* above!

2 Unclear on the drawing of Giveon. Could these be *mn-ḫpr-rʿ* (𓇳 𓆣 𓏠)?

3 So earlier Giveon, but in his article of 1980 he rejects all winged figures as being representations of Reshef.

4 Rowe has "black steatite".

5 She sees a Cypriot origin for this seal because of the tailed griffon.

6 Petrie's description is far-fetched, having the figure holding "the goat-fish figure of Ea (the dugong), as if to impart to the man the emblem of wisdom".

7 But there are no falcon head and double crown as Petrie and Rowe mean.

8 According to Petrie the winged figure is protecting the seated human. Rowe describes it as a man holding a goat fish and bringing a captive and lion to a griffin - representing either Horus or the pharaoh. Parker has the lion threatening

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baᶜal because of the lock. He is accompanied by his attribute animal, the lion, which will be met on items *BM45*ff. Baᶜal is depicted as the protector of the animals and of the humans (as represented by the man) against the demons. Petrie's historicizing political interpretation, which sees the scene as the battle between Syria and Egypt over the helpless Palestine, is totally unfounded[1]. Much better is Keel's interpretation that it is Ishtar with her lion (followed earlier by Cornelius 1989 because of Ishtar's relationship with the lion) as healing deity protecting a human against a demon (Keel identifies it with sickness). However, the figure is male, as already interpreted by Petrie. It is identified as Baᶜal with Parker. [lock]

BM43 BM L. 604. British Museum, London. Tell el-Farᶜah, south tomb 960.

Object: Scarab of seatite, 1,5 (l) x 1,1 (w) x 0,7 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.

Published: Starkey/Harding 1932 25 pl LV:299*. *Literature*: Giveon 1978b 83 fig 40, 1985 46-47 no 73*; McClellan 1979 66; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 134 no 22*.

Description: A bearded and winged figure faces left, with a horned headdress and streamer hanging down behind the back. The figure wears a striped kilt with tassels on the waist and three on the seam below: two on the sides and one in the middle. There are hieroglyphic signs representing the hippopotamus (𓃯)[2] above and the falcon (Horus) with flail in front of the figure (𓅄)[3].

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baᶜal-Seth[4] because of the wings. [wings]

---

the man, but seems to be troubled by the "goat fish" and identifies the figure as Baᶜal(!) because of the association with the attribute of the river-god.

1 Nougayrol seems puzzled by this interpretation, but offers no own interpretation.

2 Following the interpretation of Giveon. On the relationship between Seth and the hippopotamus see Bonnet (1952 528ff); Hornung/Staehelin (1976 128); te Velde (1977 59); Vandier (1969 191-192) and earlier Lanzone (1886 V/2 pl CCCLXXX).

3 Both were symbols of regeneration, cf Hornung/Staehelin (1976 128 and 136).

4 Starkey/Harding and Giveon have "Reshef or Seth". Reshef is out of the question because of the wings.

BM44 UC 38067. University College, London. Provenance unknown.

Object: Scarab of green blue glaze, circa 1,6 (l) x 1,3 (w) x 0,9 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1200.

Published: Petrie 1925 28 pl XV:1083.

Description: A bearded figure with horned headdress and a streamer strides to the right, with the arms hanging down. There are hieroglyphic signs: the lion (𓃭) and the lizard[1] (𓆈)[2].

Identification: The figure can perhaps be identified as Baᶜal[3]. [?]

Synthesis

The media showing the standing Baᶜal without any weapons are mostly scarabs. There are also cylinder seals (*BM17, 23a*), one pyramid stamp seal (*BM31*) and a plaque (*BM36*). This motif, which is common on reliefs from Egypt and the Levant, is also attested on Egyptian items (scarabs *BM24-26*). Three variants can be distinguished from one nother:

(i) the standing figure with staff (*BM17-19, 23*) or hanging arms (*BM20-22*),

(ii) the winged figure (*BM23a-41*) and

(iii) the standing figure with animals (*BM42-44*).

Depending on the presence of wings, the figure has been described as "Baᶜal" or "Baᶜal-Seth".

The wingless figure of the standing Baᶜal is only once represented in the medium of the cylinder seal in a specimen of green schist from Byblos (*BM17*). Scarabs are known, coming from Byblos (*BM18*), Deir el-Balah (*BM19*), and two from Farᶜah south (*BM20-21*). The material of

---

1 Petrie has "crocodile", but the iconography of the crocodile is different from that of the lizard. The lizard is shown from above, but the crocodile in side profile (Baines/Málek 1984 60; Hornung/Staehelin 1976 108 and Schäfer 1974 163). Cf also the difference in the hieroglyphic signs 𓆊 and 𓆈. On the lizard see Bonnet (1952 164ff); Brunner-Traut (in *LdÄ* I 1204f) and Hornung/ Staehelin (1976 108-109).

2 According to Hornung/Staehelin (1976 109, 126) both animals are connected with regeneration.

3 Starkey/Harding have Seth.

which the scarabs are manufactured is the more common steatite (*BM22*) and frit (*BM20*). Some are made of carnelian (*BM18*). One item is even set in gold (*BM19*) which was originally part of a ring (missing). *BM19* reflects on the use of the seal as ring. The fact that *BM19-20* come from tomb finds, indicates that these served as amulets for the deceased. But it was also used for the living as the much worn *BM23* illustrates. Only *BM23* contains an inscription.

The figure of the god Baʿal appears alone on *BM18-19*. He is depicted with another sitting god on *BM17* and faces the pharaoh (*BM21*). On the unique *BM22* the god may be facing the animal-eared god Seth. The figure on *BM18-19* and perhaps also *BM23* is comparable to the inscribed *BR11* and *BR5*ff with *wʒs*-sceptre (𓌀) and streamer. *BM17* may depict a plant-like sceptre (a variant of the plant spear of *BR1*?). The god stands on a base-line or even on a pedestal (*BM17*), facing right in most of the cases. Only on*BM17* and *22* he faces left.

The god is dressed in a short kilt. A tassel between the legs is visible on the cylinder seal *BM17*. On the head is a pointed cap with streamer and he is holding what Dunand (1954 74) calls a situla. On all the scarabs he wears a horned conical headdress. *BM21-22* depict a beard.

The *winged* figure is called *Baʿal-Seth* and occurs on stamp seals (scarabs, the pyramid stamp seal *BM31* and the plaque *BM36*), but also on cylinder seals (*BM23a*). It is also known from Egypt - coming from Bubastis, Saft and Buhen (*BM24-26*). Dunand's excavations at Byblos revealed four examples (*BM27-30*). There is one example from Philistine Qasile (*BM31*) and two from Farʿah south (*BM32-33*). The seals are usually made of steatite, but also of glass (*BM31*) and green glaze (*BM38*). *BM24, 32-33* were found in tombs and served as amulets. *BM24* was even found with the skeleton.[1]

Only *BM36* has an inscription on the reverse - the well-known praenomen of Tuthmosis III *mn-ḫpr-rʿ* which was used as an amulet in later times as well (cf Jaeger 1982). The figure of Baʿal stands on a base-line, but also on the hieroglyphic signs *nb* (𓎟) and *nbw* (𓋞) on *BM28*. The sign *t* (𓏏) is on *BM40*. The two Fribourg scarabs (*BM34-35*) have a

1 Petrie (1906 45) remarks on the interesting fact that the scarabs from Saft come from female and child burials and not from male-occupied graves.

sun-disk (⊙). *BM41* has various signs. *BM37* may also contain the sun-disk.

The tradition of the winged Baʿal continued in the Phoenician period. He is shown with four wings (Keel 1977b 194f [especially 203]) and in one case even in a menacing pose (Keel figs 150 and 154; cf *fig 38*).

The figure is always shown single, usually facing right and flanked by reared uraei ( ), that face away from the figure. These animals served as symbol of protection on scarabs (Hornung/Staehelin 1976 134f and now Wiese 1990 18ff). In one case the uraei hang from the waist (*BM40* - cf Wiese 1990 19). The uraeus also occurs with Reshef (*RM8*, *10*, *12-13*) on scarabs. *BM41* is different in not having the uraei, but various plants. The single uraeus of *BM38* resembles a *mȝʿt*-feather ( ), or it may be the lapidarist's mistake for a uraeus.

The figure is dressed in a short kilt, but very little detail is visible because of the limited space. Most of the crowns have bull horns, a streamer and a beard. A crown with the upright projection in front, ie the double crown of the two united Egypts ( ), is seen on *BM40* and *41*. Another exception is the *šndjt*-type kilt ( ) of *BM41*. It is also known from the stelae *BR14* and (inscribed) *BR17*.

BM42 has puzzled scholars and has therefore led to some very far-fetched interpretations (cf especially Petrie). In the light of Baʿal's lock and his relation to the lion as a pedestal (*2.2.2.3*), the figure may be that of Baʿal. The human is not seated in a leisurely way, but is helpless on the ground. The demon is trying to snatch him, but Baʿal is coming to his rescue. The god is the protector of and ruler over man and beast. This piece is unique in reflecting an unusual aspect of Baʿal as a protector against demons (cf earlier perhaps *BM6, 16*?). He is a demon slayer as shown below (*BM87*).

The last two items (*BM43-44*) are exceptional in depicting Baʿal with various hieroglyphs which represent symbolic animals (falcon, hippopotamus, lizard and lion). They were symbols of *regeneration* and serve their function on the seal amulets well.

2.2.2.3 Baᶜal-Seth on the lion (BM45-BM68)

Introduction

The motif of *deities on animals*[1] is quite popular in ancient Near Eastern iconography, especially in the medium of glyptic. Under *2.1.2.3* the motif of *Reshef on the gazelle/horned animal* is studied. The items studied here show a figure standing on a lion. In Western Asiatic iconography, it is common to depict deities[2] standing on lions, ie as pedestals for deities. Egyptian gods on lions[3] are not common, although Qudshu on the lion seems to have been quite popular there (*RR29-32*, *RM23*, cf Pritchard 1969b nos 470-474 and Weippert 1988 302-303). The reliefs of Yazilikaya have the Anatolian goddess Hebat standing on lions (Bittel 1975 150ff pl 58, cf pls 25-30).

Winged deities on lions are known in Western Asiatic art. The best-known deity on a lion or connected with a lion is the goddess Ishtar[4], but also the Urartian god Haldi (Tasyürek 1978). A menacing god, which stands on a lion (striding over mountains) and holds a smaller lion, is depicted on a stela from the 1st millennium (Börker-Klähn 1982 no 293; Pritchard 1969b no 486). The inscription identifies the god as Shadrapa. This motif also occurs on cylinder seals.[5] The best parallel for the items

1 Cf Bossert (1932-33); Braun-Holzinger (in *RlA* VII 91); Keller (1980 45ff); Özgüç (1979 279-280) and Pritchard (1969b nos 486, 522, 537).

2 According to Orthmann (1964 223), the figure on the lions from Zinčirli (Pritchard 1969b no 530) depicts a *king* who was deified after his death.

3 An exception to the rule are the two statues of Tutankhamun standing upon panthers. Seti II in the nether world (!) is also depicted on a lion (Edwards 1977 190-191). These examples are comparable to the example cited in the previous note. In the later period the Egyptian god Bes is depicted on lions (Bonnet 1952 167 fig 37).

4 Barrelet (1955); Cornelius (1989). Cf Pritchard (1969b nos 522, 526, 537:2, 7) and Seidl (in *RlA* III 487 c).

5 Porada (1947 64 pl 34:742) (Nuzi) = Keel (1980a 269, 290n169 fig 80). Cf also Porada (no 741 and 1948a no 1031) (Syrian); and the deity with raised arms on the 12th century Assyrian cylinder seal in Moortgat (1944 36 fig 36).

studied here is the weather god on a Nuzi seal (Porada 1947 no 742; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 199, 203 fig 33 = *fig 45*).[1]

The winged figure on the lion is male (beard!) and is identified as Baʿal-Seth (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 306 in accord with Schulman 1979 74 below left) or in the cases where it is wingless, as Baʿal. Keel speaks of "Baʿal-Seth" and Schulman only of "Seth", but no winged Seth on a lion is known. The figure is clearly Canaanite (horns and streamer) and is best described as "Baʿal-Seth".

The animal is sometimes unclear, but the same principles followed under *2.1.2.3* are applicable here. Although the heads are sometimes very unclear, the tails make it quite clear that *lions* are involved. The raised tails are typical of lions on ancient Near Eastern seals (cf the classical example from Megiddo [Pritchard 1969b no 276]). The best example of a lion studied here is *BM48*. *BM63* shows that the lion can easily be distinguished from the horse which has a totally different tail (*2.2.2.4*). In other cases the lion can be distinguished from the horned animal (*BM57-62*). In many of the cases (eg *BM49*) the drawings made by the publishers of the items are misleading and should be checked against the originals.

The figure cannot be identified as Reshef, because he is never winged (Schulman 1979). There may be some relationship between Reshef and the lion as indicated by the scarabs *RM31*ff. But this is not true to the extent with which Yadin (1985 266ff) wants it to function. Nergal is connected with the lion and identified as Reshef (*RS* 20.24:26/*KTU* 1.47 .27; cf Nougayrol in Schaeffer 1968 45, 57 and von Weiher 1971 90-91) and the name Reshef (*KTU* 6.62) occurs on a lion-headed rhyton from Ugarit (Yadin 1985). However, there is nowhere clear iconographic evidence that Reshef stands on a lion. *BM57*ff depicts Reshef standing on a horned animal (Reshef = *2.1.2.3*) next to the figure on a lion. This eliminates Reshef as a candidate for the figure on the lion.

The items include the following categories:

(i) The winged Baʿal-Seth standing alone on a lion (*BM45-56*).

---

1 Cf also the god on the lion on the Hittite cylinder seal published by Parrot (1952 [Louvre AO 20138]).

(ii) The winged Baᶜal-Seth standing on a lion next to Reshef on a horned animal (*BM57-62*) and Astarte on a horse (*BM63*).

(iii) The wingless Baᶜal standing alone on a lion (*BM64-65*).

(iv) Baᶜal standing with a bow on a lion (*BM66-68*).

Excluded here are seals which show a figure without clear wings on a lion. These items are without any other attributes, which make an identification with Baᶜal or Baᶜal-Seth difficult.[1]

Catalogue

BM45 UC 38070. University College, London. Tell el-Yahudiya.

Object: Scarab with brown glaze, c 1,5 (l) x 1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1200-1100.

Published: Petrie 1906 15 pl XI:209*, 1925 pl XIX:1565. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 38-39 fig 2f*; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 306-307 fig 77*.

Description: A bearded figure with two raised wings stands on the back of a lion, facing right. It wears a horned headdress with a streamer at the back.

Identification: The figure is identified as Baᶜal-Seth because of the wings. [wings/lion]

---

1 First of all there are a few items with a figure with raised arms on a lion which could perhaps be identified as Qudshu because of the position of the lifted arms, as on the well-known Qudshu stelae (*RR29*ff). In the Institute of Archaeology, London (E. VII 106/1) is a conoid from Tell el-Farᶜah (Petrie 1930 pl XXXV:391; cf Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 148 no 55) showing a figure with indistinct head and raised arms standing en face on a lion.The figure could rather be identified as Qudshu standing on the lion. The same is true of the Tell ᶜAitun conoid (IAA 69-1115; cf Shuval no 33). More uncertain are the following: Philadelphia 34-20-58 from Beisan IAIA (James 1966 316 fig 100:13; cf Shuval 148 no 54) has two figures standing with spread legs on one animal (lion). The figure on the left is smaller and has the arms hanging and the other has one arm lifted and one hanging down. The figures are identified as gods because they are standing on animals, although this is uncertain. Cf also the Gezer hemispheroid (Macalister 1912 II 294 pl cc:6 = Shuval 147 no 53) which depicts two figures standing on some animal (lion?). Finally there is a Tell en-Nasbeh impression of a seal on the rim of a jar (McCown 1947 153-154, 297 pl 55 no 81; cf Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 139 no 35) showing a figure on a lion. Both arms are hanging down, while the left hand holds something. The lion strides over mountains (in a zigzag pattern). More unclear is the figure on OIC A 18462 (Loud 1948 pl 136:26; cf Shuval 139 no 34) and also Tell Qasile 2950 (B Mazar 1951 58 pl VIII:4; cf Shuval 138 no 30).

BM46 Badari 2. El-Badari tomb 1737. Present location unknown.
Object: Scarab of green glazed steatite; c 1,1 (l) x 0,8 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1200-1100.
Published: Brunton 1930 24, 36 pl XLIII:54*.
Description: As *BM45*.
Identification: See *BM45*.[1]

BM47 Byblos 3223. Beirut? Byblos.
Object: Scarab of white paste, 1,5 (l) x 1,1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1100.
Published: Dunand 1937 pl CXXVIII:3223, 1939 217.
Description: As *BM45*. The lion stands on the *nb*-sign (⌓).
Identification: See *BM45*.

BM48 Berlin VA 15088c. Vorderasiatisches Museum, Berlin. Tell el-Mutesellim (Megiddo), destruction layer of stratum IVA.
Object: Conoid of composite material, badly damaged; c 1,5 (l) x 1,3 (w) cm. *Date*: 11th century (find context), style late 13th-12th centuries.
Published: Schumacher 1908 86, 89 fig 124 (top line, 2nd from right).
Description: A winged figure stands on a lion facing right.
Identification: See *BM45*.

BM49 Rockefeller 32.1580. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell es-Sultan (Jericho), tomb 11, stratum B.
Object: Scarab of light yellow steatite, deeply incised; 1,5 (l) x 1,1 (w) x 0,71 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1100.
Published: Garstang 1933 36-37 fig 11 pl 11. *Literature*: Eggler 1992 161-162, 188, 190, 378-379 fig 92*; Fulco 1976 7; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 297; Leibovitch 1942b 440-441 fig 91*; Rowe 1936 173 pl XVIII* no 722; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 135 no 25*; H Weippert/M Weippert 1976 133 note 80.
Description[2]: There is a bearded figure with two wings, horned headdress and a long streamer at the back. It wears a decorated garment with a tassel between the legs (no

1 Brunton has "Baᶜal".

2 Cf the description of Rowe who speculates much on the figure and the meaning of the bundle. His drawing (followed by most scholars) creates the wrong impression.

tail!) and stands on a lion[1] (or bull?), facing left. There is a debased uraeus below the left wing.[2]
Identification: See *BM45*.

BM50 ÄS 2412. Staatliche Sammlung Ägyptischer Kunst, München. Origin unknown.
Object: Scarab, base with grooved border; 1,73 (l) x 1,33 (w) x 0,76 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1200-1100.
Published: Keel in Keel /Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 306-308 fig 79* pl XVII:3.
Description: As *BM45*.
Identification: See *BM45*.

BM51 Cracow MAK/AS 2414. Archaeological Museum, Cracow. Provenance unknown.
Object: Scarab of glazed steatite, base in deep relief, minor damage in the centre of the base; 1,3 (l) x 1 (w) x 0,62 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300.
Published: Śliwa 1985 59* pl XV no 88. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 38-39 fig 2g*; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 306-307 fig 78*.
Description: As *BM45*[3].
Identification: See *BM45*.[4]

BM52 Leibovitch scarab. Provenance and present location unknown.
Object: Scarab of steatite; 1,5 (l) x 1,1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.
Published: Leibovitch 1942b 440 fig 90*. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 7 (E14).
Description: As *BM45*.

---

1 Already suggested by Fulco, although with a question mark. Eggler proposes an identification with a *horse*. While the head is indistinct (as is true of many of the examples studied here), the tail is clearly that of a lion. The line drawing (followed by Keel) does not show the horns, but they are visible on the photograph.

2 Cf the winged figure on the lion flanked by uraei on *BM63*.

3 Śliwa has "probably a horse with tail" and sees the tail as being "incorrectly depicted".

4 Śliwa seems to prefer Reshef, but the wings exclude this possibility.

Identification: See *BM45*.

BM53 SM 828/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Provenance unknown.
Object: Scarab, 1,6 (l) x 1,1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.
Published: Leclant 1960 63-64 fig 33a. *Literature*: Matouk 1977 76.
Description: As *BM45*.
Identification: See *BM45*.[1]

BM54 Berlin 15136. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Origin unknown.
Object: Scarab of glazed stone, 2 (l) x 1,5 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.
Published: Gressmann 1927 82-83 pl CXVI:275. *Literature*: Keel 1980a 268, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 201; Vincent 1928 pl XXV:9a*.
Description: As *BM45*.
Identification: See *BM45*[2].

BM55 UC 38106. University College, London. Provenance unknown.
Object: Scarab with buff glaze; 1,3 (l) x 1(w) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.
Published: Petrie 1925 12, 28 pl XV:1080. *Literature*: Matouk 1977 76, 337:266*[3].
Description: As *BM45*.
Identification: See *BM45*[4].

BM56 Ashmolean 1889.284 (facet c). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Bought near Jaffa (Chester).
Object: Flat-sided conoid of glazed steatite, now yellow brown; 2,1 (l) cm. *Date*: c 1300.

---

1 Matouk has "Reshef".

2 Gressmann describes this as a depiction of Qudshu. Although she appears on a lion, the figure here is male (beard!) and has wings. Vincent's drawing creates the wrong impression.

3 The drawing of the animal is quite comical and creates the wrong impression.

4 Petrie has "Seth". Matouk has "Reshef".

Published: Buchanan/Moorey 1988 20 pl IV no 113; Chester 1886 43, 48 no 4*.
Literature: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 411.
Description: As *BM45*[1]. Above is a decoration[2] and below a double base-line.
Identification: See *BM45*.

BM57 IAA 79-546. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell Keisan, niveau 9a, locus 635, inventory no 6.377.

Object: Broken clay bulla with border; 1,2 (l) x 0,8 (w) cm. *Date*: 1050-1000.

Published: Keel 1980a 269, 282 no 31 pls 90*, 136, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 246*-247 no 31 pl X. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 145 no 48*.

Description: Two figures are standing on two animals: the wings of the second one are not very clear, but can only be wings when compared with the other examples. The figure wears a cylindrical headdress[3] with a short streamer at the back and stands on a lion[4]. The first figure stands with one hand holding the neck of a horned animal[5], whose legs are not visible.

Identification: The figures are gods because they are standing on animals. They can respectively be identified as Reshef on the horned animal (cf *2.1.2.3*) and the winged Baʿal-Seth on the lion (*BM45*ff)[6]. [wings/lion]

BM58 Rockefeller 34.3090. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), surface find (excavator's number 3060).

Object: Scarab of light yellow steatite, broken, deeply incised; 1,4 (l) x 1,04 (w) x 0,68 (h) cm. *Date*: 1300-1100.

Published: Rowe 1936 138 pl XV 575. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1991 22-23 fig 1g*; Keel 1980a 267 fig 76*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 196-197 fig 29*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 144 no 47*.

---

1 Buchanan/Moorey have "bull" (?), but the animal is a lion.

2 Cf Matouk 6662 (Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 125 no 3A). Buchanan/Moorey have "ladder (?)".

3 Cf *BR14* above and JE 25147 (*fig 46*) below.

4 The head is not clear, but the tail is a typical lion's lion. When compared with the other examples where the second figure is also on a horned animal (here the first figure), the second figure here can only be standing on a lion.

5 Cf Reshef holding the neck of an animal (*RM25*ff).

6 Also Keel.

Description: Two figures are standing on two animals as on *BM57*, but here the winged figure on the lion is standing on the left.
Identification: As *BM57*.[1]

BM59 Institute of Archaeology E. VII 83/6. Institute of Archaeology, London. Tell el-Farʿah south, tomb 224.
Object: Scarab of steatite with sunken relief; 1,55 (l) x 1,24 (w) x 0,84 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1150-900.
Published: Petrie 1930 14 pl XLIII:534*. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 38-39 fig 2h*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 144 no 46*.
Description: As *BM58*[2].
Identification: See *BM57*.

BM60 Matouk 3200.[3] Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Provenance unknown.
Object: Steatite scarab, bored; 1,92 (l) x 1,5 (w) x 0,8 (h) cm. *Date*: 1400-1150.
Published: Matouk 1977 178, 401:1581. *Literature*: Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73-74 fig 94a; Pritchard 1987 102:2b[4].
Description: As *BM58*, but here the first figure is shown with a streamer on the headdress. There is a twig between the figures.
Identification: See *BM58*.

BM61 Cracow MNK IV-Zl-2796[5]. National Museum, Cracow. Provenance unknown.

---

1 Rowe describes the second animal as perhaps being a gazelle, but this is unclear. For Reshef on a gazelle or horned animal see above *2.1.2.3*.

2 The horns of the second animal cannot be confused with the ears of a hare because of the straight leg. Petrie has "bull" (?)

3 Cf Matouk 3209 (Matouk 1977 114, 387 no 785; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 65 fig 82b).

4 But this is definitely no "Sumerian carving".

5 Formerly 3089, ex collection C Schmidt-Ciązyński 2016.

Object: Caprid scaraboid[1] of brown slate with traces of green glaze; 2,13 (l) x 1,62 (w) x 0,68 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300-1100.
Published: Śliwa 1989 40* pl V no 15. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1992 38-39 fig 2i*.
Description: As *BM58*, between the figures is a winged sun-disk (⊙).
Identification: See *BM58*.

BM62 Yerushalmi. Private collection Yerushalmi, Tel Aviv. Provenance unknown.
Object: Scarab of white steatite, 1,7 (l) x 1,26 (w) x 0,77 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1150-1000.
Published: Unpublished.
Description: Two figures stand on two animals. The figure on the right is winged and stands on a lion. It looks as if its two arms are lifted in the air. The other figure stands with arms lifted on a horned animal. The animal's legs are unclear.
Identification: The figure on the right may be Baʿal-Seth, although the wings are somewhat unclear. To its left is Reshef, known from many (better) examples depicting Reshef on a horned animal (eg *BM57*ff) standing on a lion next to Baʿal-Seth. Here the arms are lifted and not hanging. [wings/lion]

BM63 Cairo CG 12843 (front)[2]. Egyptian Museum, Cairo. Provenance unknown.
Object: Rectangular amulet, front and back slightly convex, hole from side to side, made of dark stone with glaze, 2,1 (h) cm. *Date*: 1300-1100.
Published: Reisner 1958 41 no 12843 pls XI*, XXVI. *Literature*: Dąbrowski 1991 22-23, n10 fig 1f*; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 408-409 fig 104*.
Description: Two figures stand on two animals. The first one is winged and wears a horned headdress with a streamer behind. It stands on a lion facing right. The figure is flanked by two reared uraei (𓆗) facing away from the figure (note that the uraei are also on the lion)[3]. There is a sun-disk (⊙). The second figure stands on a horse[4] with arms

1 Definitely no gazelle, as Śliwa has it. The horns are curved backwards! For the same motif on a caprid scaraboid see Matouk 3209 (photograph in Keel/Uehlinger 1990 65 fig 82b).

2 Photograph unclear, see drawing in Keel (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 408 fig 104).

3 This example is unique as it combines the figure on the lion with the one flanked by uraei (*BM24*ff).

4 The line drawing in Reisner renders the second animal unclear and incorrectly, cf now in Keel.

hanging and wears the *ȝtf*-crown (𓋚). There are inscriptions on the right.

Identification: The figures are identified as Baᶜal-Seth on the lion and Astarte[1] on the horse.[2] [wings/lion]

Inscription: *jmn-rᶜ* and *mn-ḫpr-rᶜ* = Amun-Reᶜ and Menhkeperreᶜ (praenomen of Tuthmosis III).

BM64 Aleppo 4785 (RS 8088). Aleppo Museum? Ras Shamra (Ugarit).

Object: Cylinder seal of steatite, with scene turned 90 degrees to give a vertical instead of a horizontal design, 1,3 (h) x 1 (d) cm. *Date*: 1500-1300.

Published: Kohlmeyer/Strommenger 1982 129 no 112; Weiss 1985 281 no 124.

Description: A figure with a pointed headdress, strides to the right on a lion. It is dressed in a short kilt (with a dagger stuck hanging from its belt) and holds two spears in both hands.

Identification: The figure is identified as Baᶜal standing on a lion. Reshef is excluded, because he never stands on a lion. [lion]

BM65 Farᶜah. Present location unknown. Tell el-Farᶜah south, stratum X, wine store in governor's house.

Object: Unclear oval seal impression on conical storage jar stopper of clay, slightly incised, lower part lost, 4,5 x 3,2 (l x w) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: Starkey/Harding 1932 29 pl LXI:5. *Literature*: Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 140 no 37*; Yisraeli in Avi-Yonah 1978 1076.

Description: A figure stands on a lion[3], holding what could be a *wȝs*-sceptre (𓌀)[4] in the right hand. The left hand is hanging down. Between the legs is a single tassel.

Identification: The figure is possibly a representation of the god Baᶜal standing on a lion[5]. [lion]

---

1 On Astarte on the horse see the *excursus (2.1.1.3)* and *2.2.2.4*.

2 Keel identifies the figure on the horse as Anat.

3 Contra Shuval. Starkey/Harding also have lions.

4 Shuval's drawing renders the staff/sceptre differently. Starkey/Harding have a sceptre or a spear. For Baᶜal with the *wȝs*-sceptre on the lion see the Persian stela JE 25147 (*fig 46* below).

5 The figure on another jar stopper seal impression (Starkey/Harding 1932 29 pl LXI:6 = Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 140 no 36) seems to wear the

BM66 IAA 73-123. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell el-Fukhkhar (Acco), not from a stratigraphic context.

Object: Scarab of steatite; 1,1 (l) x 0,85 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: 1150-1000.

Published: Giveon/Kertesz 1986 28-29* no 91. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 269, 291; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 143 no 45*.

Description: Two figures (with unclear headdress) stand on two animals (both the animals and figures face right)[1]. The second figure stands on a reclining gazelle[2]. The figure holds the animal by the neck and it looks as if it holds the right arm in a raised position. There is no weapon. The first figure stands on a lion[3], shooting with a bow.

Identification: The figures are identified as gods because they stand on animals. They can respectively be identified as Baʿal on the lion and Reshef on the gazelle. [lion]

BM67 Fribourg SK 108. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Unknown provenance.

Object: Scarab of steatite; 1,66 (l) x 1,15 (w) x 0,73 (h) cm. *Date*: 1300-1150.

Published: Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73-74 fig 94b; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 291-292 fig 0131*.

Description: Two figures stand on two animals (facing right). The second figure stands on a reclining horned animal. It has horns, a beard and the arms are hanging down.[4] The first figure has the *ḫprš* (𓋙) or blue crown[5] with uraeus (𓆗) on the head and stands on a lion facing right. It holds a bow in the right hand and the left hand is lifted (holding a weapon?).

---

same headdress, but has a pointed beak (?). If the second impression shows the Seth animal-head it would mean that together the impressions represent Baʿal *and* Seth on lions. If this is the case, another unique aspect of this item would be the fact that the Egyptian god Seth is represented on an animal.

1 Shuval has a "beard ?" for the second figure, but this is unclear.

2 No hare's ears; the horns are clearly that of a gazelle. Cf *2.1.2.3* above!

3 Giveon (1986 28) and Shuval have "a horse", but cf the two parallels *BM67* and *68*. For the two figures on the animals, cf *BM57-62* above.

4 Cf this with the previous piece where it holds the animal by the neck and has the right arm lifted.

5 This crown is usually restricted to the king, but cf already the blue crown worn by Baʿal on *BM7* (with remarks).

Identification: The figures are definitely gods because they are standing on animals: they are identified as Baᶜal[1] and Reshef. [lion]

BM68 Ashmolean 1892.245. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Unknown provenance.

Object: Steatite scarab, 2,4 (l) x 1,9 (w) x 0,9 (h) cm. *Date*: 1300-1100.

Published: Newberry 1908 155 pl XXV no 26*; Keel in Keel/ Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 269 pl XIII:2. *Literature*: Keel 1977b 147n19; Loud 1948 remarks to pl 152:154.

Description: The figure with Egyptian *ꜣtf*-crown (𓋚) and decorated, knee-length kilt with two tassels between the legs strides on/above a lion[2]. It is shooting with a bow on caprids to the right. In the field are twigs.

Identification: The figure is not a king[3] because of the tassels[4], crown[5] and because it stands on a lion[6]. The figure can be identified as Baᶜal. The lion makes an identification as Reshef unlikely. [lion]

Synthesis

The items presented here will be discussed separately according to the four categories that are represented:

(i) *BM45-56* show a single winged figure standing on the back of a lion. The items come from Egypt: Yahudiya and Badari (*BM45-46*), from Byblos (*BM47*) and from Palestine: Megiddo and Jericho

---

1 Keel does not decide whether this is Baᶜal (he has Baᶜal-Seth) as king or the king as Baᶜal (Baᶜal-Seth). In Egypt the pharaoh was described as Baᶜal (Stadelmann 1967 39ff). However, the fact that the figure stands on an animal, which is not attested for any human (not even for the divine pharaoh - pharaoh Tutankhamun on the panther is an exception), makes an identification with the king less likely.

2 It is not exactly clear whether the figure stands *on* or above the lion. When compared with the other examples (*BM66, 67*), it seems possible that it is indeed standing *on* the animal!

3 Also Keel (in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 269).

4 The figure has the tassels of the Canaanite gods in Egypt.

5 The crown is more typical of Astarte or Anat (on the inscribed stela *RR31* above and cf *excursus - 2.1.1.3*).

6 For Keel the lion is not so much a pedestal of the god as divine attribute, but belongs to the hunted animals.

(*BM48*, *49*). Item *BM49* comes from a Jericho tomb and could indicate that it was placed there as an amulet for the deceased.

The media are the scarab and two conoids (*BM48*, *56*), made of steatite (*BM46*, *49*, *51-52*, *56*), glaze (*BM45*, *54*), white paste (*BM47*), composite (*BM48*) and buff glaze (*BM55*).

The figure standing on a lion is bearded (even with longer beard on *BM51*), with horns and streamer on the headdress. *BM46* even has a curly streamer, but this is not a hairlock as with the Canaanite Baʿal on *BR1* and *BM1*ff. Of the figure on *BM48*, only the wings are clear as an attribute. On all examples the figure faces right, except on *BM49* where it faces left. The lion on which the figure is enthroned is clear on *BM45-46*. Some of the animals are unclear, but the tail helps to identify the animal as a lion.

(ii) The second variant shows the winged figure on the lion together with a wingless figure on a horned animal (*BM57-62*). All the items originate from Palestine: Keisan, Lachish and Farʿah south (*BM57-59*). In contrast, the motif of the figure on the horned animal alone (*2.1.2.3*) is known from Egypt (*RM26*).

The medium is the clay bulla (*BM57*), three scarabs (*BM58-60*, *62*) and a caprid scaraboid (*BM61*). The bulla[1] is an impression made by a stamp seal on a lump of clay which was originally attached to a string tied around a jar or container (Moortgat-Correns in *RlA* III 452) or used to seal a papyrus scroll (Avigad 1986 123; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 91 fig 121). The scarabs are bored, which indicate that these items were carried as amulets on a string around the neck. The scarabs are made of common steatite (*BM58-60*, *62*).

The figure on the horned animal (identified as Reshef as known from *2.1.2.3* above) has no attributes. More attributes of the figure on the lion are visible: horns (*BM63*); a beard and a streamer (*BM57*, *60*); and a sun-disk (*BM61-63*). The wings are clear on *BM58-59*, but unclear on *BM57*. The fact that Baʿal and Reshef

---

1 Cf Moortgat-Correns (in *RlA* III 4453 c). Cf the hoard of clay bullae with Hebrew inscriptions published by Avigad (1986).

occur next to each other, is important. It shows that the view that they are not represented together (Vanel 1965 90 followed by Conrad 1971 178) is wrong!

Plaque *BM63* which has on the right not the figure of Reshef on a horned animal, but Astarte standing on a horse, is quite interesting. It also has the name of Amun-Reʿ and the well-known formula Menkheperreʿ (Jaeger 1982).

(iii) The wingless Baʿal on a lion occurs on two items. On a *cylinder* from Ugarit, which is quite interesting because the image is turned 90 degrees to make a vertical impression (*BM64*). And on a seal *impression* on a clay stopper of a jar from the wine store of Farʿah south (*BM65*) the figure has a *wꜣs*-sceptre ( ) like Baʿal on the inscribed stela *BR11*. This figure is comparable to the one with a *wꜣs*-sceptre on a lion on the Persian stela Cairo JE 25147 (Aimé-Giron 1940 447ff pl XLII; Müller 1906 30 pl 40; Keel 1980b fig 264 = *fig 46*).

(iv) The last variant (*BM66-68*) is interesting since it depicts Baʿal on the lion armed with a bow. But it is also problematic because the figure on *BM68* resembles the pharaoh. It wears the *ꜣtf*-crown ( ), more typical of the goddesses Anat/Astarte (*RR31* and *figs 10, 14ff*). On *BM67* it wears the blue crown ( ). However, on *BM66* and *67* the figure occurs next to Reshef on a horned animal, which makes an identification with Baʿal a strong possibility. The blue crown is not unknown for Baʿal (*BM7*). The figure on *BM68* looks more male; it even shows the tassels between the legs. The king is excluded (contra Keel) because the figure has the tassels of a Canaanite god. Also interesting is the raised hand on *BM67*.

If this interpretation is accepted, it provides a unique variant of the motif of Baʿal on the lion! In the Ugaritic texts, Baʿal prepares his bow (*qšt*) for the hunt (*KTU* 1.12 II 31-33). In *KTU* 1.10 II 6-7 he takes his bow and arrows (*qšt/qṣm*) to hunt wild oxen. This motif has mythological undertones, as will be seen when the motif of the serpent slayer is studied (*2.2.2.5*).

2.2.2.4 Baᶜal-Seth on the horse (BM69-BM73)

Introduction

Under the discussion of the items depicting Reshef on horseback (*2.1.1.3*), reference has been made to the winged figure on a horse which can possibly be Baᶜal-Seth (also Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 308). The Egyptian god Seth was related to horses (Capart 1934). Reshef is depicted on horseback (*2.1.1.3*), but an identification as Reshef is out of the question in cases where the figure has wings. The wings (*2.2.1.3* and *2.2.2.2*) are more typical of Baᶜal-Seth.

Astarte is another possibility when identifying the deities standing on horseback, as this goddess is also shown on horseback (*excursus* with *figs 10-11*). However, there is no evidence to indicate that Astarte on horseback is depicted with wings. Again the arguments in favour of the winged Baᶜal standing on a horse are stronger.[1]

As with the gazelle and the lion (*2.1.2.3*, *2.2.2.3*) there are sometimes problems in identifying them on the smaller and crammed surface of the stamp seals[2]. The horse can be identified by the larger tail that is hanging down (as argued in *2.2.2.3*: the lion's tail stands up). Some examples seem to depict an animal with a horn (eg *BM70*). What looks like horns, are in reality the plumes or feathers of the Egyptian horse (*fig 21*). This is

---

1 Anat is excluded. As shown in the *excursus*, she is never depicted on horseback. Anat is described as a winged figure in the Ugaritic texts, eg *KTU* 1.10 II 11: "she raised her wings and flew up" (de Moor 1987 112 and cf Pope 1971 400ff [1.4 V 21, 1.18 IV 20ff and 1.108 8-9]). However, no epigraphic evidence for a winged Anat in the visual sources (ie iconography) is available.Whether the figure shown with wings on the Ugaritic cylinder seal RS 5.089 (Louvre AO 17.242, cf Schaeffer 1983 16ff) is Anat, as Gese argues (1970 159 fig 16), is still to be proven. There is no connection between Anat and the horse in the Ugaritic texts and no conclusive iconographic evidence showing her on a horse (contra Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73-74 fig 94e and Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 211 fig 38). Qudshu is also depicted on horseback, but can be excluded. There is no iconographic tradition connecting her with wings. The same is true of the demon Lamashtu who stands on a horse (Pritchard 1969b nos 658, 857), but who has a totally different iconography.

2 For horses on seals cf also Barkay (1992) and Schroer (1987 293ff).

also shown on the horse on the Lachish gold foil (Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 211-213 fig 36).

Catalogue

BM69 IAA 73-170. Israel Antiquities Authority, Jerusalem. Tell el-Fukhkhar (Acco).

Object: Scarab, slightly damaged, 1,4 (l) x 1,0 (w) x 0,7 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300 (?).[1]

Published: Giveon/Kertesz 1986 38-39 no 142. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 307-308 fig 81*; Shuval in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 no 26.

Description: A winged figure with the double crown of Egypt (or white crown with uraeus?) stands on a horse. To the figure's left is the *wḏ3t*-eye (𓂀)[2].

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth on a horse. Giveon/Kertesz have "Reshef", but the wings make this interpretation impossible. [wings]

BM70 SM 1931/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin[3]. Provenance unknown.

Object: Hedgehog-formed scaraboid[4], 1,9 (l) x 1,3 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300.

Published: Leclant 1960 62-64 fig 32a. *Literature*: Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 307-308 fig 80*.

Description: A winged figure stands on a horse holding the reins. The double crown (𓋖) is very clear, as is the feather-decoration of the horse. To the left is the *wḏ3t*-eye (𓂀), as on the previous item.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth on a horse. [wings]

---

1 Giveon/Kertesz date the scarab in the Late Period, but the motif is typical of the LB-IA periods.

2 This is not an *ᶜnḫ* as in Shuval. For the symbolism see Bonnet (1952 854ff); Hornung/Staehelin (1976 171) and Müller-Winkler (1987 93-94).

3 This item as well as the next three were originally part of the Michaelidis collection of scarabs. They are published by Leclant (1960 62ff) in his study on Astarte on horseback.

4 Cf Hornung/Staehelin (1976 118-119) on the symbolism involved. For the back cf also Keel/Uehlinger (1990 fig 82h). The hedgehog is a symbol of regeneration.

BM71 SM 906/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.
Object: Scarab, white steatite, 1,7 (l) x 1,3 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300.
Published: Leclant 1960 62-64 fig 32b.
Description: As *BM70*.
Identification: See *BM70*.

BM72 SM 903/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.
Object: Scarab of white steatite, 1,6 (l) x 1,1 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300.
Published: Leclant 1960 62-63 fig 32d.
Description: A winged figure is standing on a horse.
Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth on a horse. There are unclear hieroglyphic signs. [wings]

BM73 SM 905/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.
Object: Scarab of white steatite, 1,6 (l) x 1,2 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1300.
Published: Leclant 1960 62-63 fig 32c.
Description: A winged figure with double crown stands on a horse with a prominent plumed headdress[1].
Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth on a horse. [wings]

Synthesis

As is the case with the female deity Qudshu, Baʿal could be shown standing on the back of a horse. The attribute that distinguishes Baʿal from other equestrian deities is his *wings*. Although it is not always very clear, he wears the Egyptian double crown (𓋖). In two of the cases, the *wḏ3t*-eye (𓂀) is visible (*BM69-70*). This is a most common symbol in ancient Egypt, representing protection and regeneration (cf lately Müller-Winkler 1987 93-94).

1 This looks like horns, but note the tail of a horse at the back.

The motif of the equestrian Baʿal continued in the following period. In the Fribourg collection there is a scarab (SK 73 [previously 23], cf Keel/Uehlinger 1990 73, 74 fig 94d = *fig 47*) depicting a winged figure standing on a horse, with *ȝtf*-crown(?) and uraeus, flanked by *nṯr*-signs (𓊹 = god).

2.2.2.5 Baʿal-Seth the serpent/lion and monster slayer (BM74-BM87).

Introduction

Under *2.2.1.3* above the motif of the winged Baʿal-Seth conquering a serpent was studied. The motif of the Canaanite Baʿal killing the serpent or holding the conquered serpent is a well-known theme on earlier Syrian cylinder seals (Keel 1980b fig 46 and in Keel/Keel-Leu/Schroer 1989 fig 66; Vanel 1965 177; Williams-Forte 1983 figs 6-11) and on stamp seals (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 309ff).

The motif of the *Drachenkampf*[1] is quite well-known in the ancient Near East. This is also true of ancient Near Eastern iconography (Keel 1980b figs 45-52). Addu (not Marduk!) attacks a *Mischwesen* with his thunderbolts (Gressmann 1927 pl CLIII no 380). The weather god subjugates the dragon (Keel 1980b figs 48, 49) with many heads (Keel figs 51-52). The adversary of Baʿal and Baʿal-Seth is more like Apophis *(fig 39)*, a serpent. The same is true of the monster Illuyanka being attacked by an Anatolian weather god (Keel fig 50) and the enemy of the Canaanite weather god (Keel fig 46). *BM87* studied below and *BM42* above (*2.2.2.2*) depict an enemy that is more like a *Mischwesen*.

The winged figure on the items discussed here cannot be identified as Reshef (as done by Cassirer with regard to *BM78*), because Reshef is never winged (Schulman 1979 74). The figure without wings is the Canaanite serpent slayer Baʿal (not Reshef as Beste has it on *BM79)*, because Reshef is no serpent slayer. Seth is also inappropriate (Schulman following Leibovitch 1953) as the figure has wings and is rather to be

1 Cf Day (1985); Keel (1986c 169ff); Steffen (1984); Uehlinger (1990, 1991) and Wakeman (1973).

called Baʿal-Seth (*2.2.1.3* and *2.2.2.2* and Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 312).

Catalogue

BM74 MMA 1985.357.6[1]. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Unknown origin.

Object: Steatite cylinder seal, 2,64 (h) x 1,21 (d) cm. *Date*: 14th-13th centuries[2].

Published: Eisen 1940 62 pl XV no 159 (Moore no 29).

Description: A figure strides to the right, attacking a large serpent with a raised head. It wears a pointed headdress with a lock at the back. The figure stands with the left hand raised, holding a mace. There is another weapon, held in front with the other hand[3]. Behind the menacing god sits a figure. Above the serpent is a winged figure with the legs crossed[4], holding a spear (?). There are also a sun-disk in a crescent and an *ʿnh* (☥) to the left of the serpent.

Identification: Because of the pose, lock and the killing of the serpent the figure can be identified as Baʿal, the serpent slayer. [lock]

BM75 Matouk 264 i. Biblisches Institut, Fribourg. Unknown provenance.

Object: Cylinder seal of soapstone, cut crudely; 1,98 (h) x 0,85 (d) cm. *Date*: c 1250.

Published: Keel/Uehlinger 1990 42 fig 44.

Description: An anthropomorphic figure grabs a serpent by the neck. It raises the left hand to smite the snake with a weapon. Behind is another human in the same pose, but holding something (another serpent or plant?) in front. On both sides of the serpent there are points.

Identification: The figure left can be identified as Baʿal, the serpent slayer. [serpent slayer]

---

1 Gift of P Moore (jr) (1985), earlier Moore collection.

2 Eisen dates the piece to the so-called "second Syrian" period, but on the problems with this system see above under *2.2.2*. He compares the item with Moore no 158, but this item is different in style and definitely earlier (MB).

3 Perhaps used to smash the head of the serpent or to stab him in the mouth (cf MB cylinder in Eisen 1940 no 158; Keel 1980b fig 46 = *fig 51*), but this is no plant spear as on Williams-Forte (1983 figs 7-10).

4 Cf Frankfort (1939 276 fig 90).

BM76 Institute of Archaeology E. VI 24/29. Institute of Archaeology, London. Tell el-Farʿah south, tomb 902.

Object: Scarab, damaged above, sunken relief, partly with (inner) drawing. White steatite, the broken part shows remains of green glaze; 2,27 (l) x 1,56 (w) x 0,95 (h) cm. *Date*: 1500-1150.

Published: Petrie 1930 7 pls XII:171*[1], XXXVII:902 (middle). *Literature*: Cassirer 1959 6-7; Cook 1925 116n3; Cornelius 1990 29, 40 fig 10*; Dąbrowski 1992 36-38 fig 2a*; Galling 1937 26, 1977 11a; Keel 1986b 3, 5 figs 1-2*, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 310-311 fig 85*; Leibovitch 1953 107 fig 11*; Matouk 1977 268; Müller-Karpe 1982 pl 113:9*; Schulman 1979 69; Uehlinger 1990b 217-218 fig 4*; Welten in Galling 1977 111.

Description: A bearded figure strides to the right. It is depicted with raised wings and an Egyptian white crown (𓋑) made of reeds[2], with uraeus-symbol (𓆗) in front[3]. There is a long streamer reaching from the top of the crown and hanging down behind the back, ending in a flower (as on the Baʿal relief *BR11*). The figure is dressed in a short knee-length kilt, with three tassels between the legs. It holds a long spear and pierces a horned serpent[4]; one foot stands on the serpent. Above is a sun-disk (⊙).[5]

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal-Seth[6], the *winged* serpent killer.[7] [wings]

BM77 Rockefeller 36.1572. Rockefeller Archaeological Museum, Jerusalem. Tell ed-Duweir (Lachish), locus 120, grid A6, no 5162. From LB chamber, re-used in 900, with bones from 700-600 (Tufnell 1953 193-196).

Object: Steatite scarab, base with grooved border, 1,37 (l) x 0,9 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date:* 1300-900.

---

1 His drawing is incorrect (and so are all that followed him) when compared with the original, see especially Keel (1986b).

2 The best examples of this type of crown is on *BM82* below.

3 Petrie has horns in his drawing.

4 Not an expanded hood as Petrie has it. For such horned serpents see Keel (1980b figs 47-49).

5 Cf also *BM78-80*; on *BM77* it is behind the figure. *BM79* has the complete formula: *mrj rʿ*, here abbreviated as *rʿ*.

6 Galling 1937 and 1977 still has Reshef, but he is not known to be a serpent slayer, nor is he depicted with wings.

7 But there is nothing historical to the scene, as Petrie has it.

Published: Murray in Tufnell 1953 368 pls 43*, 43A no 22. *Literature:* Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 314, 317 fig 91*.

Description: A figure strides to the right, with a headdress with horns and a long streamer at the back. It is dressed in a kilt and brandishes a *ḫpš*-sword (𓌏)[1] in the right hand and grabs a horned serpent with the left hand. To the left is a small sun-disk (☉).

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal[2], the serpent slayer, although it is wingless. [serpent killer]

BM78 Cassirer. Private collection E Cassirer, London. Purchased in London in 1958.

Object: Scarab of steatite with dark green glaze, base with border, sides slightly chipped, just over 2,5 cm (l). *Date*: c 1500-1300.

Published: Cassirer 1959 6-7 pl I bottom. *Literature*: Fulco 1976 7 (E14); Fuscaldo 1972 119; Galling 1977 11a; Keel 1980a 268, in Keel/ Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 201-202, 312-314 fig 86[3]*; Schulman 1979 69, 74.

Description: A bearded, winged figure strides to the right. It wears a white crown with the head of the Seth animal (!) in front[4]. There is a long streamer reaching from the top of the crown and hanging down the back, ending in a flower. The figure is dressed in a knee-length kilt with two tassels between the legs. It holds a long spear (with two streamers hanging from the shaft)[5] with the one wing and pierces a rearing serpent. The figure stands with both feet on the serpent. Above is a sun-disk (☉).

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baʿal-Seth[6] the serpent slayer. [wings]

BM79 CAA 2,182. Hannover. Purchased.

Object: Scarab of carnelian; 1,9 (l) x 1,45 (w) x 0,95 (h) cm. *Date*: 1150-1200.

---

1 For Baʿal-Seth with *ḫpš*-sword see above *BR3-4*; he brandishes it on *BM7*.

2 Murray has "king smiting an enemy", but this misses the point.

3 In the text it is cited as fig 87, but the description refers to fig 86.

4 This is not a gazelle head, nor a uraeus, but clearly the head of a long-eared animal. It is the head of the Seth animal as Keel also has it!

5 This is the only example of a spear with such streamers. For the identification see Cassirer and Yadin (1955, 1963 355).

6 Cassirer's identification with Reshef (also Galling 1977 11a) is unfounded because of the wings. Fulco already queries his interpretation (also Giveon and Schulman) and see now especially Keel.

Published: Beste 1979 182. *Literature*: Cornelius 1990 29, 40 fig 11*; Dąbrowski 1992 36-38 fig 2b*; Giveon 1983 34; Keel in Keel/ Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 313-314 fig 88*.

Description: There is a bearded figure with the white crown and two protruding horns in front[1]. A long streamer reaches from the top of the crown and hangs down the back. The figure strides to the right on a base-line and is dressed in a knee-length kilt with two tassels between the legs. The figure holds a long spear with the right hand and grabs a rearing serpent with the other, standing with one foot on the serpent. Above are hieroglyphs (𓌸 and ⊙). Facing the figure is a goddess with a staff and a sun-disk with cow-horns on her head. Below is the Egyptian sign *nb* (𓎟).

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baᶜal[2], the serpent slayer, facing the Egyptian goddess Isis.[3] [serpent slayer]

Inscription: *mrj-rᶜ* = "beloved of Reᶜ"[4].

BM80 SM 857/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.

Object: Scarab; 1,8 (l) x 1,3 (w) cm. *Date*: 1500-1300.

Published: Leibovitch 1953 107 fig 12*. *Literature*: Cornelius 1990 29, 41 fig 12*.

Description: A bearded, winged figure strides to the right on a double base-line. There is a white crown with two protruding horns in front and a streamer hanging down behind the back. It is dressed in a knee-length kilt with three tassels between the legs. The figure holds a long spear in the right hand and attacks a horned serpent. Above is a sun with rays (𓇶) and other unclear (hieroglyphic?) symbols.

Identification: Because of the wings the figure can be identified as Baᶜal-Seth, the serpent slayer. [wings]

BM81 SM 858/73. Ägyptisches Museum, Staatliche Museen, Berlin. Unknown provenance.

Object: Scarab, damaged on back; 1,8 (l) x 1,3 (w) cm. *Date*: c 1500-1300.

Published: Leibovitch 1953 107 fig 13*.

---

1 These are not gazelle horns as in Beste.

2 This cannot be Reshef as Beste has it, nor is it winged to be identified as Baᶜal-Seth (Giveon).

3 According to Keel (314) she is supporting Baᶜal-Seth in his battle against the enemy of Reᶜ (cf also Keel 1978a figs 78-80).

4 On this epithet see Giveon and Keel.

Description: A bearded, winged figure faces right. It wears the white crown with two protruding horns in front and a long streamer hanging down the back. It is dressed in a kilt with tassels on the sides and stands with the legs apart on a double base-line. The right hand seems to be raised in a menacing pose (weapon?) and the left hand grabs a hanging serpent.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth, the serpent slayer. [wings]

BM82 Brussels E. 6190 (back side)[1]. Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, Brussel (earlier MacGregor). Purchased by MacGregor in Zaqaziq 1889[2].

Object: Faience plaque with border, presumably original with rounded top, 6,8 (h) x 5,5 (w) x 0,97 (t) cm. *Date*: Ramesses II 1290-1224[3].

Published: Griffith 1893-1894 88-89*. *Literature*: Capart 1946 29-31 fig 2*; Cook 1925 116; Culican 1976 65; Dąbrowski 1992 36-38 fig 2c*; Gubel 1986a 111, 113, 115 fig 3, 1986b 259 no 316; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 312-313 fig 87[4]*; Leibovitch 1944a 106 fig 15*, 1953 107-108 fig 17; Nibbi 1983 55-57 fig 4*; Roeder 1956 45; Schulman 1979 69, 74; Seeden 1980 pl 138*:20; Towers 1931 75-76; Vandier 1969 191, 196; Vincent 1928 517.

Description: A bearded, winged figure strides to the right. It wears the white crown (𓋑), made of a bunch of reeds tied together[5], with unclear symbol[6] and a long streamer[7], reaching from the top of the crown and hanging down the back. The figure is dressed in a short *šndjt*-type (𓋳) kilt[8], with bands across the chest (cf *RR7*). On the wrists and upper arms are bangles and around the neck is a broad collar. It holds a long spear with the one hand and pierces a rearing serpent; the feet stand over the serpent.

---

1 For the front which depicts Amun-Reᶜ as a ram-sphinx; see Gubel (photograph) and Griffith (line drawing), Keel and Nibbi.

2 Cf *Catalogue of the MacGregor collection of Egyptian antiquities*, London (Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, June 1922, 6 no 49).

3 Gubel dates the piece in the time of Shoshenq III (c 850). Griffith, Keel, Nibbi and Vandier prefer a date in the time of Ramesses II.

4 In text fig 86, but the description refers to fig 87.

5 As described by Griffith. For this type of crown see scarab *BM76* above.

6 The symbol is not a gazelle head (so most studies and still Gubel) nor a uraeus. Could it be a Seth animal head as on the Cassirer scarab above (*BM78*)?

7 Griffith's "thick rope".

8 For this kilt with Baᶜal and Baᶜal-Seth see above *BR14*, *17*, *BM41*.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth[1], the serpent slayer. [wings]

Inscription: Left of the figure: *sȝ ᶜnḫ ḥȝ nb* (..) = "protection, life behind the lord". Right: unclear.

BM83 Brown. Private collection R Brown, Jerusalem[2]. Origin unknown.

Object: Scarab with blue-green glaze, part of the back is damaged; 1,52 (l) x 1,06 (w) x 0,6 (h) cm. *Date*: c 1300.

Published: Unpublished.

Description: A winged figure wears a white crown, with two protruding horns in front and a long streamer hanging down behind the back (beard unclear). It is dressed in a kilt with two tassels between the legs. The figure strides to the right on a double base-line. It grabs a serpent hanging in its length, but no weapon is visible.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth - the serpent slayer. [wings]

BM84 BN 1034.4. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, collection Chabouillet (2646). Purchased.

Object: Conoid of greenstone facies; 2,2 (l) x 1,8 (w) x 2 (h) cm. *Date*: 11-10 centuries.

Published: Unpublished[3].

Description: A winged figure with white crown and raised weapon attacks a horned serpent.

Identification: The figure can be identified as the winged Baᶜal-Seth, the serpent slayer. [wings]

BM85 Damascus 3565. Damascus National Museum. Ras Shamra (Ugarit - RS 17.59) 1953.

---

1 "Seth" (Nibbi) says too little.

2 This piece was first noticed by Keel during a study of the Brown collection in April 1990.

3 To be published by Gubel.

Object: Cylinder seal impression on clay tablet[1], 4,7 (l) x 2,6 (h) cm. *Date*: 1275-1250.

Published: Schaeffer 1956 23ff, 122-123 figs 32*-33. *Literature*: Beyer 1982b 67-68 fig 4*; Bittel 1976 fig 182; Collon 1987 70-71 no 310; Digard 1975 no 87-8*; Joundi 1976 20 fig 3; Keel 1980a 266, in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 192-193 fig 25*; Kohlmeyer/Strommenger 1982 153-154 no 148; van Loon 1985 47 pl XLVI:a; Weiss 1985 306-307 no 160.

Description: There is a guilloche pattern at the top and bottom. On the left is a cuneiform inscription, an animal and a horned god with a mace standing on mountains, Luwian (Hittite) hieroglyphs in the middle, a second god standing on a supporter[2]. To the right is a horned, youthful god facing right, dressed in a short kilt, striding to the right on a bull[3]. He thrusts down with a spear to attack a lion standing up on its hind legs. Above is a griffon and under the lion is a rosette (cf Laroche in Schaeffer 1956 123 and van Buren 1939a).

Identification: The figures on the left are Anatolian weather gods. The figure on the right can be identified as Baʿal because it stands on a bull. [bull]

BM86 RS 68.30.259. Aleppo Museum? Ras Shamra (Ugarit), northern trench, GC 8.4800.

Object: Cylinder seal of steatite, 2,3 (h) x 1,1 (d) cm. *Date*: 1500-1300.

Published: Kohlmeyer/Strommenger 1982 129 no 110; Weiss 1985 280 no 122.

Description: A figure strides to the left, wearing a short kilt and rounded cap and holding in the left hand a mace which rests on the shoulder[4]. The figure attacks a lion[5] with a spear in the right hand. The lion is attacking a horned animal from behind. Above hovers a winged sun-disk (). Between the figures are a twig and points.

Identification: The armed figure can be identified as Baʿal attacking a lion, as on the previous item. [lion slayer]

---

1 This is a seal of Ini-Teshub, king of Carchemish. For the longer cuneiform inscription see Nougayrol (1956 149ff) and for the historical background Klengel (1969 379-380).

2 Cf the Ras Shamra seal (Bittel 1976 fig 183) and the Anatolian reliefs from Imamkulu and Yazilikaya (Bittel figs 203, 239 and Vanel 1965 111-112 figs 57-58).

3 Cf *BM16* and *BS1*; compare *figs 40-41*.

4 Cf the figure left on the previous item (*BM85*).

5 Kohlmeyer/Strommenger identify it as a sphinx.

BM87 Beisan. Present location unknown. Beisan (Beth Shean) 1925, level of Amenophis III, room 1068.

Object: Cylinder seal of "glass"; 2,25 (h) cm. *Date*: Amenophis III 1391-1353.

Published: Rowe 1940 85 pl XXXVIII no 14*.[1]

Description (based on the drawing of Rowe): A bearded figure strides to the right, with rounded cap, streamer at the back and a longer (?) kilt. It seems to be attacking a winged griffon to protect a bull in the middle.

Identification: The figure on the left is identified as Baᶜal in his capacity as the monster slayer. It is comparable to *BM16*, *42*, cf *BM6*. [streamer]

Synthesis

The motif is represented by two cylinder seals (*BM74-75*). There are also eight scarabs included in the catalogue. One comes from a tomb at Farᶜah south (*BM76*) and one from Lachish (*BM77*). The material of which the seals are made is usually steatite. There is one of carnelian (*BM82*). The plaque (*BM68*) is of faience with rounded top like a stela and much larger in size than the seals

The figure, usually bearded (*BM76*, *78-82*), is wingless on the cylinder seals and some scarabs (*BM77*, 79), but winged on the other scarabs and the plaque (*BM76*, *78*, *80-84*). The figure is shown with a winged goddess (*BM74*), another god (*BM74*) and Isis (*BM79*). The figure wears a pointed headdress on *BM74* with the lock of Baᶜal (cf *BR1*, *BM1*ff). In other cases it wears a horned headdress (*BM77*, *79-81*, *83*) and a streamer at the back. The streamer reminds one of *BM11*, especially the one ending in a flower (*BM76*, *78*). *BM76* has a uraeus-symbol, but in contrast *BM78* (and perhaps *BM82*) has the Seth animal head - which clearly reflects the relationship of Baᶜal with Seth! The type of headdress is especially clear on *BM76* and even better on *BM82*. It is similar to the Egyptian "white crown" (𓋑) and made of a bunch of reeds wrapped together (cf already Griffith 1893-1894 89). This may provide some information on the enigmatic question of which material the so-called white crown of Egypt was made (Müller-Winkler 1987 362, 523n410)[2].

---

1 The drawing is unfortunately unclear, no photograph of this item could be found.

2 Abubakr (1937 25f) argues that it is of filt, but according to Kaplony (1981 42f and 188) it is made of leather.

Around the waist is the short kilt with tassels: two (*BM78-79, 84*) or three (*BM76, 80*) between the legs, or two on the sides (*BM81*). In contrast, the figure of *BM82* wears the royal *šndjt*-kilt (as on *BM14, 17* and *BM41* above). *BM82* also has the bands across the chest.

Symbols that occur are: points (*BM75*), an *ʿnḫ* (☥) (*BM75*) and a sun-disk (◎) above the figure (*BM76, 78-79*), but also behind it (*BM77*). There is a sun-disk with rays (☼) on *BM81*. The sign ⊙ (= *rʿ*) can be read as an abbreviation for the longer inscription that occurs on *BM79*: ⊙ (*mrj rʿ* = "beloved of Reʿ"; cf Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 314).

The weapons that are used are unclear: a hand-weapon (*BM74-75*), the more typical spear (*BM76, 78-80, 82*) and one example of the *ḫpš*-sword (*BM77*). The serpent usually hangs down on the scarabs. It is also depicted with the head lifted on *BM74* and horned on *BM76-77*.

The more typical Egyptian serpent slayer items show the figure with wings (*BM76, 78, 80-84*) and contain Egyptian inscriptions which substantiate the interpretation followed here. *BM79* has "beloved of Reʿ", which connects the figure with Seth (cf *BR17*), the defender of the sun-barque against Apophis (*fig 39*). *BM76* looks as if the figure only has wings and is holding the spear with the wing, but *BM82* makes it clear that it is holding the spear in the one hand (cf also *BM78* and *81*).

Comparative depictions have been cited under the *introduction*, but mention should also be made of other depictions. A god with horns grabs a large serpent by the head and attacks it with an axe on a Neo-Assyrian stela from Tell Ashara (Keel 1980b fig 142; cf Uehlinger 1991 fig 5 = *fig 48*), in reality the Assyrian king Tukulti-Ninurta II (c 888) conquering the rebellious Aramaic city Laqe. The motif persisted into the Phoenician period (900-700), as is known from a scaraboid in Fribourg (SK 102 = Keel in Keel/ Shuval/ Uehlinger 1990 316-317 fig 93; Keel/Uehlinger 1990 52 fig 66; Keel-Leu 1991 85-86 no 103 = *fig 49*) which presumably depicts a four- and not a two winged Baʿal figure slaying a serpent.

The winged Seth in his Egyptian form with animal head is also shown as serpent slayer (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 309-311 figs 83-84 pl XVII:4). It is interesting that on one of the items (the Ramesside scarab Brussels E 7036b = Keel fig 84) the god is shown with the Seth

animal's head[1], but is dressed in a kilt with Asiatic tassels between the legs. The same tassel occurs with the serpent slayer Seth on a Ramesside cylinder from Tell ez-Zafi (Giveon 1978b 97f fig 49; Keel 310-311 fig 82 = *fig 49a*).

There may be a relationship between the menacing Baᶜal with the plant spear (*BR1*, *BM5*) and Baᶜal as the serpent killer. MB cylinder seals do not depict Baᶜal killing the serpent with a spear, but slaying it with a tree (Winter 1987 fig 200[2] = *fig 50* [second figure from the right]). To the left are two worshippers followed by a winged warrior deity with a zoomorphic head. To his right is a menacing winged deity. A cylinder from the same period may indicate why Baᶜal is attacking the serpent: it is threatening the sacred tree[3] (Keel 1980b fig 46 = *fig 51*). Baᶜal is striding over the mountains. To his left is a naked goddess on a pedestal extending her open hand over the sacred tree in a protective gesture. The star may indicate that this is Ishtar/Astarte. To the left is a sphinx and three humans. In some cases Baᶜal is striding over the mountains and is not slaying the serpent, but holding it as a conquered attribute (Winter 1987 fig 269 = *fig 52*). To his right is a naked goddess on a bull. She faces front, exposing herself to him. To her right is a so-called "suppliant goddess". Here mention could be made of the Hyksos cylinder seal from Tell-ed-Daba (Avaris?) depicting a god with brandished weapon and below a dead serpent on a pedestal as symbol of his victory (Porada 1984 and now Uehlinger 1990; *fig 42* above).

To these items *fig 27* (*2.1.2.2*) above (where a horned figure is shown with *wȝs*-sceptre), can be added. He thrusts down with a spear as if killing a serpent. The fragment of a IA scarab from Tell Deir Alla (Franken 1969 56 fig 16; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 314, 316-317 fig 92 pl XVII:5 = *fig 53*) depicts only the body of the horned wriggling serpent and part of the arm and foot of the god (?) with sun-disk above. There is a figure slaying a serpent on the incense stand from Taanach

---

1 The inscription reads *mrj ḏḥwtj* ("beloved of Thoth"). Cf the inscription on *BM79* and the abbreviated forms on the seals *BM76*ff.

2 Compare Williams-Forte (1983 figs 7-10).

3 The tree is the symbol of life (cf Gen 3).

found by Sellin (Gressmann 1927 pl CLIX nos 396-397, cf Schroer 1987 39). It can be dated in IAII (with the stands published by Lapp 1969), but it depicts Baʿal the serpent killer (*fig 54*).

Baʿal items which show the wingless Baʿal killing the serpent (*BM74-75, 77, 79*), represent the Canaanite Baʿal. This god is described as the slayer of the seven-headed, coiling serpent, also called Tannin (*tnn*) or Lotan (*ltn*) in the religious texts from Ugarit (*KTU* 1.5 I 1-3, 1.3 III 40ff, cf 1.83 7-8).[1] These monsters are identified as Baʿal's great adversary, Yam. The motif is also found in the Bible (Biblical Leviathan and Tannin לִוְיָתָן and תַּנִּין) in Is 27:1 and Ps 74:14.

The last motif in the art in miniature is that of Baʿal as lion- or demon slayer. The first two examples show a lion being attacked and the second a demon with wings, comparable to the demon on *BM42* above.

The detail of the last three items will not be repeated, as this adds little to Baʿal's weapons and attire. More important is the *act* that he is performing. The first two items (*BM85-86*) depict Baʿal as the lion slayer. He attacks lions with his spear[2]. *BM87* has a "winged monster" as Rowe describes it. This demon can be compared to the *Mischwesen* of *BM42*. That a bull is depicted, has nothing to do with the fact that it is related to Baʿal. The seal shows Baʿal as the protector of the fauna. It is not exactly clear which deity the lion represents, as many gods were connected to, compared to and described as lions. Perhaps it is one of Baʿal's adversaries. In the Ugaritic myths Baʿal has two great enemies, Yam and Mot (Pope in Haussig 1965 258ff). Yam is excluded, as he is a serpent (cf above). Mot is a possibility (Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 194), since his appetite is like that of lions (*KTU* 1.5 I 14). Baʿal is described as the conquerer of the bull-like "devourers" (*aklm*) in *KTU*.1.12 I 30-32.

A relief from Carchemish (Keel 1990 fig 26) depicts a weather god and attendant attacking a lion. The beautiful golden bowl from Ugarit

---

1 Cf Grønbaek (1985); Kloos (1986) and Wakeman (1973 62ff); literature in Loretz (1990 92-93) and Uehlinger (1990 517).

2 In his study of Tell Keisan seal 9, Keel (1980a 266, now in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 190ff figs 22ff) discusses seals depicting the fight between the bull and the lion where the bull is victorious.

(Schaeffer 1949 1ff pls IIff and Kohlmeyer/Strommenger 1982 118-119, 152 no 146) depicts a lion being attacked by two hunters with a spear and dagger (cf Barnett 1964 pl V:D). That the Seth figure is both a serpent and lion slayer, is further illustrated by the very interesting cylinder from Tell ez-Zafi (*fig 49a*) showing the animal-headed Seth attacking *both* a serpent and a lion! The motif of the lion slayer persisted into Phoenician iconography as shown by Culican (1968 83ff). Asiatic tassels between the legs occur on two of the items (Culican pl III A2, B2 and fig 12) as well as the serpent slayer Seth on the Ramesside cylinder from Tell ez-Zafi (*fig 49a*).

2.2.3 Pottery

2.2.3.1 The standing god (BP1)

Introduction

Only one item represents a standing figure depicting Baʿal in this medium. Excluded here are the following items which are sometimes connected with Baʿal or which do not fall in the period under discussion:

(i) The Tel Qarnayim pottery mould (*2.1.2.2:fig 26*) does not depict Baʿal but an attendant, as argued earlier.

(ii) An anthropomorphic IAIA jug from Tell Qasile (Mazar 1980 81-82 fig 19 pl B-4) with horns, may represent the horned Baʿal (Schroer 1987 319), but is too unclear to make the identification definite.

(iii) The figure on the Taanach stand (*fig 54*), mentioned earlier (*2.2.2.5*), falls outside the period under discussion.

(iv) Barnett (1964 62 pl IV:B) publishes a 7th-6th century Cyprus vase with a warrior figure wearing a *ȝtf*-crown. It has an axe over the shoulder and holds a lance in front, with a sword with a tassel on the side. Barnett connects the figure with Reshef, but the sword on the side (cf *BR1*, *BM16*, *BB1*-2), the *ȝtf*-crown (cf *BM68*) and the axe over the shoulder (compare *figs 31a-c*) make an identification with Baʿal more likely. Nevertheless, it falls outside the region and time period under discussion.

Catalogue

BP1 Damascus 6886. Damascus National Museum. Ras Shamra (Ugarit 1961 - RS 24.440), from the house of a priest.

Object: Painted scene on a pottery drinking mug; 21,5 x 14 cm. *Date*: 15th-14th century.

Published: Schaeffer 1966b 3 fig 1* pl I right. *Literature*: Caquot/Sznycer 1980 26 pl XXII; Courtois 1979 1171 fig 907 below*; Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 213, 215; Mesnil du Buisson 1967 358-359 fig 10*; Metzger 1985 241 pl 105:114A*; Pope 1971 393-405, 1987 227.

Description: A figure with a cap and lock[1] sits on the right and holds a goblet (cf *BM3*). There is a table to the left with a vase. A standing figure strides to the right. Its head is missing, but a lock is visible at the back. The left hand is missing and the other one is holding a vase in front. To the left is a bird, horse and on the right below a fish. The background is decorated with dots representing water (note also the fish).

Identification: According to the hairlock[2] at the back which is typical of Baʿal (*BR1* and *BM1*ff), the standing figure can be identified as Baʿal[3]. The sitting figure may be identified as Ilu sitting at the sources of the waters (eg *KTU* 1.4 IV 21-22). The bird and horse are identified as Anat by Keel and Pope. [lock]

Synthesis

It is not certain what feast or banquet is represented here (Schaeffer 1966b fig 1 = *fig 55*). If the interpretation of the standing figure as Baʿal is correct, it could be that he is "standing by Ilu" as described in *KTU* 1.2 I 21 (de Moor 1987 32; cf Kruger 1989 58ff). That it was found in the house of a priest is important. It may have served some cultic purpose.

---

1 Metzger has " Bänder" and compares it to the sitting figure of Mekal from Beisan (*fig 1*). But Mekal has a long *streamer* and here the figure has a *lock*.

2 Pope connects the figure on the left with Ashera (Aṯirat) according to the "Hathor wig". He sees the scene as depicting the divine banquet as described in *KTU* 1.4 II-IV. However, the headdress cannot be the Hathor wig, since the figure is facing right (although the face points to the right, the shoulders are turned to the front) and not shown from the front (for a representation of the Hathor wig see *RR28-30*). The lock is more typical of Baʿal (cf *BR1* and especially on *BM1*ff).

3 Metzger has servant, but note again the hair lock.

2.2.4 Statues

2.2.4.1 The god on the bull (BS1)

Introduction

The type depicting Baʿal in the medium of the statue or sculpture in the round is very interesting. It shows not only the figure, but also the animal pedestal, namely the bull. In the previous sections the close relationship between Baʿal and the bull has already been established and this will not be repeated here (eg *synthesis* to *2.2.1.3*).

Catalogue

BS1 (a) *Hazor H 760* and (b) *H 526*. Hazor Museum. Tell el-Qedah (Hazor), figure from lower city in front of orthostat temple, base from among heap of stones near the lion statue. Stratum IB, locus 2119 and 2140, items H 760 and 526.

Object: Two broken pieces of basalt stone statues: figure and base; figure: 26,5 (h), base: 17,5 (h) cm. *Date*: 14th century.

Published: Yadin 1961 pls CCCXXIV*-CCCXXV. *Literature*: Barnett 1964 73 fig 9; Keel in Keel/Schroer 1985 12; Pritchard 1969b 352, 379 no 835a-b; Schroer 1987 92n120; Uehlinger in Görg/Lang 1991 880-881; Weippert 1988 300; Yadin 1972 95 pl XXa, 1975 84-85 (colour photograph).

Description: (1) A headless figure has a pendant (consisting of a chariot yoke with a four-pointed star) around its neck. The left hand holds a weapon, but the legs and feet are broken off. (2) Damaged statuette of a bull with remains of the feet of (1).

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal standing on a base in the form of a bull. [bull]

Synthesis

The statuette of Baʿal from Hazor is similar in size (26,5 cm for the figure and 17,5 cm for the pedestal) to the Egyptian statuette of Reshef 29 cm in heigth (*pl D* and discussion under *2.1.3*). These images of the Canaanite gods Baʿal and Reshef are much smaller than the few larger statues or sculptures in the round of gods that survived from Northern Syria, and which are all taller than two meters (Welten in Galling 1977 108-109).

The statue is badly damaged - the head, the right arm and the legs are missing (but the feet are on the bull-shaped base - cf Yadin 1961 pls CCCXXIV:3-6 = *fig 56*). What is noticable of this figure, is that it is not in the typical menacing pose wielding weapons (*2.2.1.1* and *2.2.2.1*) above the head. The right hand, which usually brandishes the hand-weapon is missing. However, it is holding another weapon in front. It is unclear whether it is a spear (*BM7*, *12*) or a plant spear (*BR1*, *BM3*, *5*, *9*).

The decoration around the neck (Yadin 1961 pl CCCXXIV:1) is interesting. A similar motif occurs on the altar from Hazor (Yadin 1961 pls CXXI-CXXIII, CCCXXXI:1; cf Barnett 1964 62-63 fig 2). The symbol is typical to the weather god. On the Arslan Tash relief (*fig 40a* under *2.2.2.1*) the storm god stands with lightning bolts in his hands. He has a rosette symbol (= sun-disk or star) above his head.[1] This shows that the temple where the object was found was dedicated to the storm god (cf also Yadin 1972 95). The statue is some cultic image ("Kultbild"), very few of which have survived from the ancient Near East (Seidl in *RlA* VI 315a and now Uehlinger in Görg/Lang 1991 871-872)[2].

Baʿal is not holding a bull (*BM4*, *6*) since he is himself standing *on* a bull as pedestal (*BM16*, *85*). The pedestal can be compared to the depictions of the weather god standing on a bull (studied under *2.2.2.1* and *BM16*, *BM85*; cf *figs 40-41*). At the same location the statuette of a bronze bull was also found (Yadin 1961 pl CCCXLI). A much discussed bull figurine was found by A Mazar (Schroer 1987 93ff fig 43 = *fig 57*; cf literature in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 301).[3] The bull is one of the most common pedestals of the gods of the ancient world or it is related to

---

1 Weippert 1988 (300; cf Welten 1977 102) argues that it can be a solar symbol. For the star symbol cf also Barnett (1964 76ff).

2 For the worship of a bull statue (as symbol of the god) see Keel (1980b fig 318; Pritchard 1969b no 616).

3 For archaeological evidence of bull images, see the literature and sources collected in Jaroš (1982 21ff) and Schroer (1987 91ff). Add to these the small silver bull figurine found in a model shrine at Ashkelon by the expedition of Stager in June 1990, dated c 1550 BC (*ASOR Newsletter* 41/1 1991 1-2; Stager 1991 title page and 3ff).

deities[1]. It is most typical for the ancient Near Eastern weather gods (Deighton 1983; Demircioğlu 1939; Vanel 1965) like Addu, Teshub and Baᶜal, as already stated above (*2.2.2.1*, with *figs 40-40a, 41*). Reconstructed graffiti from Megiddo (Loud 1948 61 pl 274 = *fig 58*) from 3000 may show a figure with wings (!) standing on a bull (?), but this is uncertain. A bronze from Byblos (MB) shows a figure standing on a bull, but this is exceptional (Seeden 1980 139 and no 196).[2]

The Ugaritic textual sources relating to Baᶜal and the bull have been discussed above (*2.2.1.3*) and it will not be repeated here. It suffices to say that the title "bull" is the prerogative of Ilu[3]. Baᶜal is never represented as a bull. *BR19* shows Baᶜal-Seth the serpent slayer with bull's head - this is an exception to the rule and due to Aegean influences.

A final remark should be made about other statuettes which may be related to Baᶜal. Jéquier (1930) published a stone head (cf Montet 1931-1933 204-205) purchased in Cairo which comes from the Ramesside period. This is an anthropomorphic head wearing the white crown of Egypt made of a bunch of reeds tied together (*fig 59*). It is comparable to *BM76* and especially *BM82*, forming a knob at the top. In front are two curved bull horns folded against the crown with sun-disk. The crown is similar to *BM76*, *82* and it could therefore be Baᶜal-Seth. The problem is, however, that this cannot only be connected with Baᶜal. The headdress of Reshef is the white crown or some type of high headdress, which also

---

1 Van Buren (1945 33ff); Haussig (1965 594 [index to "Stier"]); Keel (1977b 154-156 figs 99-100), in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger (1990 190ff, 301 with literature); Keller (1980 355ff); Özgüç (1965 63ff, 1979 278f); H Weippert (1988 300-302) and M Weippert (1961).

2 The earliest depiction of a Syrian-Palestinian god standing on a bull may come from the Meslim period (c 2500), if the reconstruction of the small stela found by von Oppenheim at Tell Halaf can be accepted (1939 pl XL:c; cf Hrouda in *RlA* III 490), This reconstruction is doubted by Frankfort (1979 243).

3 At Ras Shamra Schaeffer found an example of a bronze bull statuette (Caquot/Sznycer 1980 pl VIa).

has horns in some cases (*RM21*).[1] These are presumably bull horns, not to be confused with the (more) typical gazelle head on the inscribed stelae.

2.2.5 Bronzes

The remarks made on the present state of the study of ancient Near Eastern bronzes under *2.1.3* above, also apply here and will not be repeated. Needless to say, the same over-optimism in identifying the bronzes, especially those depicting the so-called "smiting god", prevails[2]. How fatal it can be to use only the *pose* as criterium can be illustrated by the famous statue Louvre AO 11598 (*fig 27a* under *2.1.3.1*), which is connected with Reshef (cf Friedrich 1933 13 and Stadelmann 1967 50), but just as easily with Baᶜal (Caquot/Sznycer 1980 24 pl IXd). This does not mean that there are no bronzes of Baᶜal (Stadelmann discusses none!).

The same criteria in identifying the figures under *2.1.3* will be applied here:

(i) *Inscription*: No bronze with an inscription identifying Baᶜal exists.

(ii) *Pose*: Only standing figures have been studied. Baᶜal figures in a sitting position in the period under discussion (but for the Phoenician period see *figs 31a, 36a*) are not known.

(iii) *Weapons*: In contrast to the Reshef items, there are no bronzes with weapons that can readily be identified as Baᶜal. Dever's bronzes showing Baᶜal with a "thunderbolt" (1987 226) must still be found (cf also the criticism of Keel in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 401).

(iv) *Kilt and headdress*: The kilt of Baᶜal and Reshef is the same. Although there are examples of Baᶜal-Seth with the headdress made of a bundle of reeds wrapped together, as on *BM76* and especially *BM82*, this cannot readily be connected with Baᶜal, as shown above with regard to the Jéquier head (*2.2.4 - fig 59*). The headdress of

1 The well-known head of stone from Ǧabbul near Aleppo (Pritchard 1969b no 540) is comparable to the Jéquier head. This head with the horns on the helmet is definitely some god, but it cannot be clearly identified as Baᶜal.

2 Eg DuRy (sa 191, 223); Dussaud (1949 54ff) and Pritchard (1987 37:6); and for a Punic bronze - Parrot et al (1977 fig 243). Gese (1970 132) is more careful.

Reshef is usually the same in form as that of Baᶜal - the white crown or some type of high headdress with horns. The only horns that are unique to Reshef are the gazelle horns, but these are not depicted on any bronze figurine. Baᶜal has a typical hairlock (*BB2*!) which is unknown for Reshef as on the cylinder seals (*BM1*ff) and the relief (*BR1*). Both figures have the streamer at the back, but this creates no problem as it has not been preserved on the bronzes.

(v) *Symbols*: Figures in a menacing pose, but with bull horns, can also be identified as Reshef since he is also shown with horns on *RM21* above (which are not necessarily his typical gazelle horns). This important criterium in identifying Baᶜal figures can therefore only be used in connection with the other criteria and never alone. For this reason many examples which might have been connected with Baᶜal have been eliminated from the catalogue. Figures with only the holes for the horns have also been excluded. The lightning symbol of Baᶜal has been dealt with already. There are some rare examples of bronze figurines on animals (Seeden 1980 139, cf nos 196, 1784-1785 (?)). The last two examples fall inside the period under consideration, but have nothing specific to identify them as representing Baᶜal.

In concurrence with the principles just stated, quite a few items are excluded:

(i) The "Baᶜal bronzes", RS 23.392, 23.393 (Seeden 1980 nos 1689-1690), connected with Baᶜal by Caquot/Sznycer (1980 23 pl IX a), could just as well be Reshef, as is quite correctly stated in Kohlmeyer/Strommenger (1982 135) and Weiss (1985 286). The pose is exactly the same and there are no other attributes (weapons or horns) to identify the figure clearly.

(ii) The next group has horns, but this fact does not necessarily connect it to Baᶜal, as Reshef can also have horns. A bronze statuette with stone helmet, electrum horns, gold on arm and leg from Ugarit (AO 18511 in the Louvre), which is published by Schaeffer (1936 145ff

fig 25 pl 21; cf Seeden 1980 104 no 1649 pl 97 with literature[1]), shows a striding figure. The right hand is raised; both hands are empty but with shaft holes. The figure is dressed in a short kilt decorated with lines. On its head is a crown which looks as if it were tied together at the top. Around the lower part is a band with holes for the curved horn.

(iii) Byblos 7919 (Seeden 1980 93 no 1661 pl 95) has a crown made of a bundle of reeds bound together like the previous one, but with feathers (*ȝtf*) and curved horns standing to the sides.

(iv) Louvre AO 22266 (Seeden 1980 33-34 no 111 pl 27) has a striding figure, with tangs and its right hand is raised. Both hands are empty, but have shaft holes. The figure is dressed in a short kilt decorated with lines and has a sash over the left shoulder. On the head is a high crown with only one horn.

(v) The bronze statuette in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin 12621 (Seeden 1980 108 no 1718 pl 101). The headdress is the typical bundle of reeds, but the figure is without horns (the remains of lateral projections on the headdress can be horns or feathers). The long garment makes it more reminiscent of a female deity, but it may be an exception and it could be a male deity that is represented as is already argued by Seeden.

(vi) The sitting figures which Bahnassi (1987 56 and 63) identifies with Baʿal. Although no 63 is depicted with horns, both are rather to be connected with the god Ilu or what can be called "the old enthroned god" (cf Welten in Galling 1977 101-102).

(vii) The Tartus bronze (Seeden no 107) identified as Baʿal by Bossert (1951 40 no 579), which has holes for horns.

(viii) The figure (Seeden 1980 114 no 1741 pl 106; Welten in Galling 1977 104) with large ears and breast nipples standing on a reclining lion with open jaws and curled tail. It wears an Egyptian-like conical crown and it raises a hand with part of the shaft of a weapon

1 Add Dever (1987 226-227 fig 16:4). He identifies the figure as Baʿal, but in his caption to the figure he has El (Ilu) (?).

(mace?) and holds a spear. The nipples show that the figure is *female* and could therefore not be Baʿal on the lion.

(ix) The sitting figure from Hazor (Negbi 1976 172 fig 69 pl 34 no 1454) is also excluded, not only because it is seated, but because it is without weapons. The larger axe head which was found intact between the legs and arms (Yadin 1959 pl 8C, 1961 III-IV pls XXXVIII, CCIV-CCV, 1963 352-353, 1972 133 pl XXIVb-c, 1975 256; cf Dever 1983 574), does not mean that this is a warrior figure or that the weapon belonged to the figure (Keel 1973 335 against Ahlström 1970-1971, 1975 and 1984 12).

2.2.5.1 The menacing god (BB1)

Catalogue

BB1 H-1906. Reuben and Edith Hecht collection, University of Haifa. Purchased 1989.

Object: Bronze, 10,4 (h) cm with green patina. *Date*: 2nd millennium.

Published: Cornelius in *Michmanîm.*

Description: A figure on tangs or pegs holds its raised right hand in a menacing way. The left hand is held in front (both hands are weaponless). It has a long beard hanging on its chest and is dressed in a short plaited kilt. On the belt hangs a dagger. On the head is a conical crown[1] with horns. The horns are curved and set against the head-dress.

Identification: The figure is identified as Baʿal because of the horns, the beard and the dagger[2]. The dagger is reminiscent of Baʿal[3] on *BR1*. [dagger]

Synthesis

Although many examples of bronzes in the so-called "smiting pose" of Collon (1972) (what has been called the *menacing god* in this study) have

1 It looks as if the crown is fastened by a chin strap (cf Seeden 1980 pl 131:3).

2 Cf also *BM9, 16, BB2* and the examples in Seeden (1980 nos 1724, 1812, 1830).

3 But note that the horns on *BR1* are protruding; here the horns are folded back as with the crowns of Mesopotamian deities (eg Pritchard 1969b nos 514, 516, 537-538).

been found, only one can be connected with Baʿal.The figure on *BB1* is comparable to the famous relief from Ugarit depicting Baʿal (*BR1*). *BB1* is exceptional from a technical point of view, since it must have been difficult to model the dagger. Although no brandished weapons survived, the dagger is important.

2.2.5.2 The standing god (BB2)

Catalogue

BB2 Borowski 219. Bible Lands Museum Jerusalem (BLMJ 393). Provenance unknown (Syrian).

Object: Bronze, 6,8 (h)x 2,9 (w) cm. *Date*: 14th century.

Published: Beran 1981 265 no 219; Muscarella 1981 249 no 219.

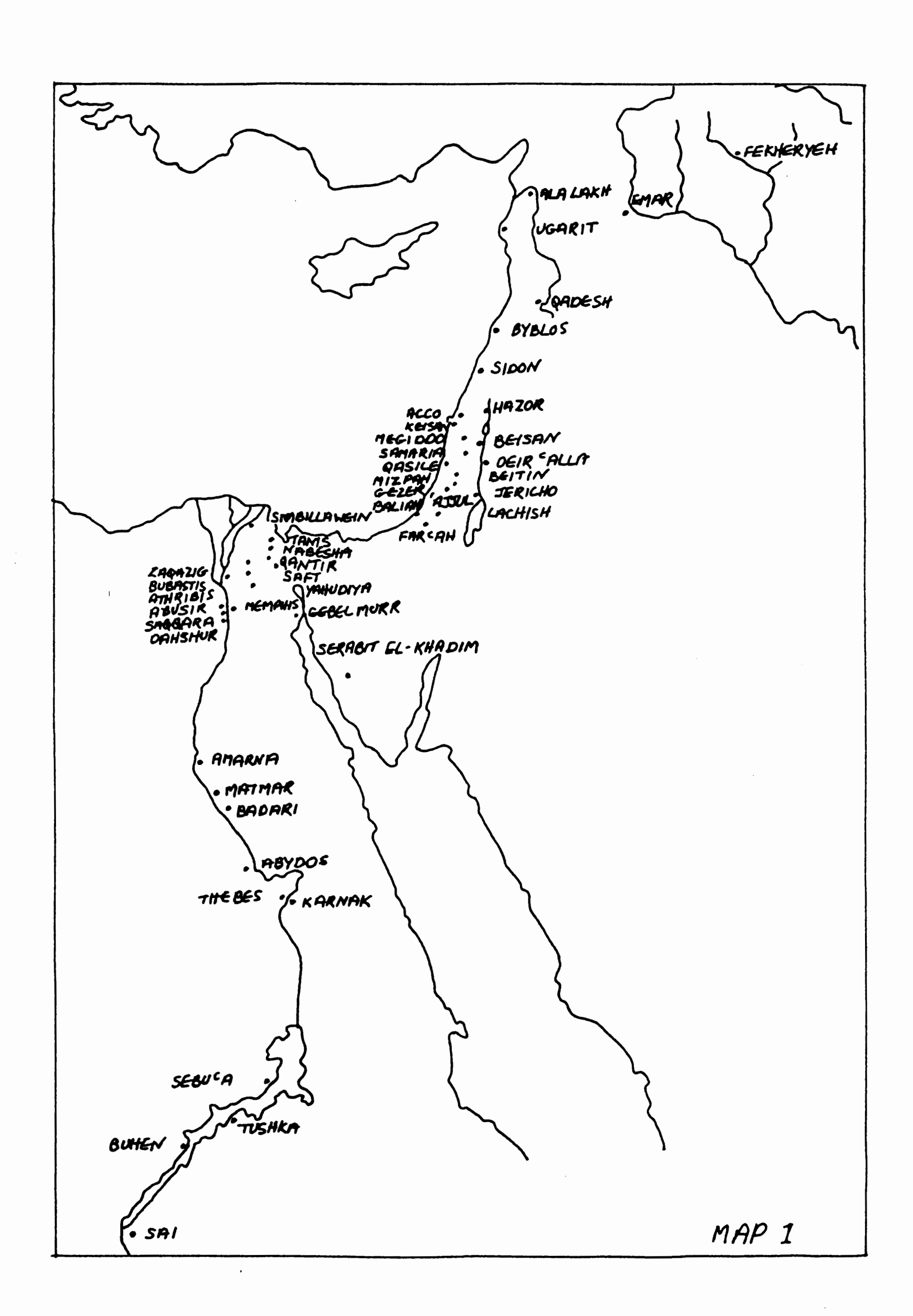
Description: A standing figure without lower arms and lower legs has a pointed head-dress and a short kilt with belt and dagger[1]. The last item is quite uncommon for a bronze, as is the hairlock with curl (cf *BR1*) hanging in front over his shoulder.

Identification: The figure can be identified as Baʿal because of the hairlock (*BR1*, *BM1*ff) and the dagger (*BR1*, *BM9*, *BB1*). [lock]

Synthesis

BB2 is just as exceptional as *BB1* and even more so from a technical point of view. It must have been quite difficult to model it with a dagger and a lock, although the last element is not uncommon on bronzes (Seeden 1980 141-142).

1 Cf *BB1* and *BR1*, *BM9*.


ALALAKH
EMAR
FEKHERYEH
UGARIT
QADESH
BYBLOS
SIDON
HAZOR
ACCO
KEISAN
MEGIDDO
SAMARIA
QASILE
MIZPAH
GEZER
BALIAH
ʿAJJUL
BEISAN
DEIR ʿALLA
BEITIN
JERICHO
LACHISH
FARʿAH
SIMBILLAWEIN
TANIS
NABESHA
QANTIR
SAFT
YAHUDIYA
ZAQAZIG
BUBASTIS
ATHRIBIS
ABUSIR
SAQQARA
DAHSHUR
MEMPHIS
GEBEL MURR
SERABIT EL-KHADIM
AMARNA
MATMAR
BADARI
ABYDOS
THEBES
KARNAK
SEBUʿA
TUSHKA
BUHEN
SAI
MAP 1

CHAPTER 3: DISCUSSION AND SYNTHESIS OF ICONOGRAPHIC ATTRIBUTES

The aim of this chapter is to summarize, discuss in greater detail, and clear up some matters which have not been attended to sufficiently in the previous chapter. It also summarizes and synthesizes some of the evidence. Excluded here is the meaning of the iconographic motifs and types which are discussed in chapter 4.

3.1 Provenances

In the catalogue, the origin of each item has been given under the name *provenance* using the external and the internal evidence. The external evidence pertains to legal excavations and the internal evidence reconstructs the origin as far as this is possible by looking at the style of the item in comparison to other items of known provenance (eg *RR3*), or by using information in the inscriptions (eg *RR7* and *RM2*). The last is especially true with regard to the items from Deir el-Medina.[1] In this section the geographical perimeters will be discussed followed by a discussion of the most important sites or regions and some remarks on the function of the sources, ie the *Sitz im Leben*. The detail as found in the catalogue and the synthesis to the different subsections will not be repeated here.

What is written here is done by keeping in mind that many of the sources still lie buried under the soil of Egypt and Western Asia. The quantity of evidence from some sites (eg Ugarit and Thebes) is due to the fact that these sites have been excavated properly, while this is not true of others. The large amount of objects which were purchased or

---

1 Schulman (1979 83n51) seems to be too negative in using inscriptions in reconstructing the origin of items of unknown provenance. He rejects the interpretation of the "servant in the place of truth" formula for the Deir el-Medina (cf *PM* I/2 705, 717, 719, 723, 727, 730, 732-734) items *RR17-18, 20, 23-26* (and as accepted by Spalinger 1978 516). What is quite right, is his view that the alleged provenance of purchased pieces can not be accepted.

come from unknown provenances, may also topple the scale in favour of certain sites if their origin were known. Nevertheless, although the picture may be one-sided, one has to work from the (present) tangible evidence and correct the reconstruction as new data is found and interpreted (or old sources reinterpreted). This last point is valid for the whole of this chapter and the chapter should therefore be read in this light.

It should also be noted that the importance of the origin of the different *motifs* (eg the riding god) will be discussed under *3.3* with the media in which the motifs occur.

3.1.1 Geographical perimeters

The study was limited to sources from the Late Bronze age and Iron age I from Egypt and the Levant.[1] When the textual and iconographic data as a whole dealing with Reshef is reviewed, it will be seen that this god was worshipped from Spain to Mesopotamia and from Anatolia to the Sudan, ie in the west as far as the island of Ibiza (*KAI* 72, 88), in the north at Karatepe (*KAI* 26 A II:10-12; 214:2-3) in Anatolia, to Sai (*RR38*) in Nubia in the south and to Mari (Huffmon 1965 263) in the east. Since different forms of Baʿal were worshipped, evidence for the worship of this god is also varied and wide-spread - stretching from Ibiza (Spain) to the Habur in Northeast Syria (*BM1*) and from Italy to Egypt (*map 1*).

The oldest references to Reshef and Baʿal are in the Ebla texts from the third millennium BC where Reshef is with Baʿal (cf Pettinato 1980 203ff) one of the principal gods. There are even gates named after them (Pettinato 1981 44)[2]. In the period under discussion, the main centre of worship of Reshef is in the Levant, but he is quite popular in Egypt too. The same is true of Baʿal. In the Phoenician (c 1000 BCff) and Punic (814-146 BC) periods, the cult of Reshef spread all over the Mediterranean as Phoenician-Punic inscriptions from Cyprus (*KAI* 32,

1 For a collection of items from the other periods see Cornelius (1992).

2 A different view is held by Koch (1988 204).

38-39) and Ibiza attest.[1] Aramaic inscriptions from Zinčirli and Karatepe attest to the worship of Reshef in Anatolia in the eighth century BC. Inscriptions from after 1000 BC also attest to the worship of different types of Baᶜal in Anatolia, Cyprus, Carthage and France (*KAI* 24:16; 30:4; 78 and 69).

The known provenances of items depicting Reshef included in the catalogue are widely spread - from Ugarit in the north of Syria to the third Nile cataract at Sai in the Sudan. In comparison the sites with Baᶜal representations are nearly the same, stretching from north Syrian Fakhariya and Alalakh to Buhen at the second cataract in the Sudan. However, Baᶜal seems to have been more widely spread than Reshef, including sources from Sinai. In sum: the worship of Baᶜal and Reshef was widespread in ancient Syria, Palestine and in Egypt.

In the catalogue more items of known provenance depicting Reshef come from Egypt than from the Levant. For Baᶜal the situation is just the opposite with more items coming from the Levant.

Ugarit is quite important for Baᶜal. In the medium of the seal and other miniature art, the god is well represented, but only two reliefs depicting Baᶜal (*BR1-2*) were found. In the Ugaritic mythological texts Baᶜal predominates, whereas Reshef plays a more subdued role. This does not mean that Reshef is not important. He plays an important role in the personal names (cf Gröndahl 1967 84-85, 181), in the cultic texts[2] and is worshipped in the villages (Heltzer 1976 72). Baᶜal has a temple at Ugarit (Gese 1970 108-109 fig 5; cf Courtois 1979 1196-1197 fig 918) which is the main temple at Ugarit. If one can believe the Ugaritic texts, the home of Baᶜal is on mount Zaphon or Jebel el-Aqra, 50 km north of Ugarit (cf *BR11)*.

Various items from Byblos depict Baᶜal. He must have been quite popular in Palestine as well - with Farᶜah (south) and Lachish as the important sites. In the centres of Canaanite culture, Acco, Keisan, Megiddo, Beisan, Qasile, Balah and Farᶜah south the worship of the

---

1 For the first millennium inscriptions dealing with Reshef see the monographs of Fulco (1976 44f), Schretter (1974 141ff) and Vattioni (1965).

2 Cf the series translated by Dietrich/Loretz (in Kaiser 1988 306ff).

Canaanite gods Reshef and Baʿal predominates into the so-called Israelite period. On the mainly Israelite occupied hill country, Baʿal and Reshef are also worshipped (eg at Lachish, Beitin and Jericho) and the sources provide some evidence on early Israelite religion and the origins of early Yahwism.

The sources from Qasile (*RM24*, *BM31*) which come from a centre of Philistine culture, show that the Philistines took over Canaanite religion (cf Brug 1985 182 and Yadin 1985 270, 273). Especially at Beisan, the cult of Reshef seems to have been popular (*RM4*, *19*).

When the Egyptian sources are reviewed, the amount depicting both gods is astonishing large. In the Delta region Qantir, Tanis and Zaqaziq are important sites, while Mit-Rahina (or Memphis) is important in Middle Egypt. Although the whole region of Thebes is important for both gods, the largest corpus from one site are these items depicting Reshef from Deir el-Medina. This site will be discussed in detail in the next section.

3.1.2 Sitz im Leben

The origin, date, size and inscriptions are all important criteria in determining the function of the items depicting the Canaanite gods. These also supply information on the worship of a certain god, especially with regard to the Egyptian sources where it is even possible to distinguish between an official (pharaoh) and a private (personal) cult.

When the *Reshef* reliefs are reviewed, it becomes clear that the sources *RR1-35* are mostly private votive stelae, dedicated by private people. These date from the 19th-20th dynasties (1300-1100)[1] and are much smaller in size than the royal stelae (eg *BR5*). In contrast, the documents depicting the riding or driving Reshef (*RR36-38*) date from the 18th dynasty (1427-1391). These are connected to the king by the inscription, one even depicting the king and his cartouche (*RR37*). As

1 As all of the items come from Egypt, the Egyptian chronology is followed. The only item from the 18th dynasty may be the Aberdeen stela (*RR11*), which de Meulenaere dates in an earlier period because of the PN, but as shown by Giveon, this is not necessarily so (cf under *RR11*).

the use of horses was the prerogative of the king in ancient Egypt, this conclusion is understandable. From these observations it may be concluded that although Reshef was already introduced into Egypt under Amenophis II[1] (1429-1401, cf Fulco 1978 3 for the text), there was no specific royal Reshef cult. The connection with Reshef and horses had more to do with the description of the military prowess (as in the Egyptian inscriptions) of the pharaoh, than with a royal cult.

More is known of the popular cult of this god in the 19th-20th dynasties. As most of the sources come from Deir el-Medina, special attention should be devoted to this location and what could be learned from it concerning the *Sitz im Leben* of the Reshef relief-stelae. This was an important quarter of the necropolis workers at Thebes west[2]. The stelae found there reflect the extent to which Reshef was integrated into the popular religion of ancient Egypt (Sadek 1988 154-156). The size of the stelae shows that these are simple and private stelae which were placed in household shrines - such as *RR14*. Sadek (1988 77) describes these as being placed in a niche in the wall, with corniche, jamb and base to support the stela, with a small table of offerings placed in front. Reshef was the god of the workers, but nothing indicates that they were Semites, as they mostly have Egyptian names (Giveon 1980 144).

Qantir, a military post on the road to the west in the east Delta, is another example (Sadek 1988 11ff). *RR2-3* might have belonged to a soldier (Asiatic or Egyptian?) as proposed by Stadelmann (1967 69), but as shown by Habachi (1954 545ff) not all of the Qantir stelae belonged to soldiers.

The cultic function of the stelae can be ascertained from the origin in sanctuaries and temples, which could in addition identity the figure as a god. The Memphite stelae *RR9-10* were found in the temple of Ptah and may indicate that Reshef had a sanctuary there in the large temple of

---

1 The oldest reference to Reshef is in an inscription (Pritchard 1969a 553) dated in the 12th dynasty (1990-1783) by Simpson (in *LdÄ* V 244).

2 Cf Allam (1985 55ff); Bierbrier (1982); and now Bomann (1991 94ff); Brunner-Traut (1974 202ff); Černy (1973, and in *CAH* II/2 chap XXXV:III); Sadek (1988 59ff) and Valbelle (1985).

Ptah (as already observed by Stadelmann 1967 69, 71).

Schulman (1979 73) and Simpson[1] differ on the question which served as model first, the stela or the statue. Reshef is depicted on an actual statue (*pl D*). Unfortunately, no stelae or statues of Reshef have been found at Ugarit. But it may be noted that the ritual text *KTU* 1.91 11 talks about *k trbn ršpm bt mlk* = "when the Reshefs enter the palace". Dietrich/Loretz (in Kaiser 1988 322 with note 11a) take this reference as meaning statue(tte)s[2] of Reshef.

The amulet function of the glyptic and other miniature objects is well-known (Müller-Winkler 1987) and no detailed discussion will be given here. The ostracon from the Valley of the Kings (*RM14*) can be compared with the many ostraca with depictions of deities from Deir el-Medina, eg those with the serpent goddess Mertseger (Vandier 1936-1939 pl LXXXVII). Some of the seals such as cylinder *RM5* could have been deposited in the temple (as a prayer?) and others may be connected with the royal cult such as *RM16* or perhaps with officials (*RM2-3, 17, 20*).

The small bronzes (*RB1-3* of circa 10-15 cm) with their tangs represented divine powers and were used as votive objects and placed in temples or tombs as prayers (Seeden 1980 154).

The size of the *Baʿal* stelae immediately shows that the functions were different to the Reshef ones. The stelae (*BR5*ff) are larger and more official and dedicated by the pharaohs to the dynastic god Seth (viz Baʿal). These date from the 19th dynasty. No evidence is available for an official cult of Baʿal before the Ramesside period (as with Reshef), althought the earliest reference to Baʿal dates from the time of Amenophis II (Stadelmann 1967 32-33 with note 4). A very interesting genre of stelae are the stelae of officials (*BR11* and *13*). In the private or popular cult of Egypt Baʿal did not play such an important role as Reshef; only one stela (*BR14*) might have been private in the light of the size of this item.

---

1 Simpson (1952 186) argues that the statue of Reshef (*pl D - 2.1.3 synthesis*) was made from the stelae.

2 On the plural see Mark Smith (1990 68n43).

To ascertain the *Sitz im Leben* of the non-Egyptian reliefs is more difficult because the sources are limited. Nevertheless, the stela *BR1* is large and could have stood in the Baᶜal temple. It is more official than the private stela of the Egyptian official Mami (*BR11*) which was found in the temple of Baᶜal at Ugarit and is dedicated to the protector of the mariners.

With the miniature art and especially the seals and amulets the function is quite clear - they were carried as protection. *BM42* might have been worn as protection against sickness. But seals were also used for more mundane purposes such as to seal clay tablets (*BM4*, *70*) and other objects (*BM2*, *49*).

The stone statuette of Baᶜal on a bull from Palestinian Hazor (*BS1*) stood in a sanctuary. Although it is small, this is an important cultic image, like the small stelae from the same location (40 cm) (Yadin 1975 43ff). A cultic function can also be ascribed to the bronzes such as *BB1-2* ; and to *BP1*, as done by Metzger (1985 241).

3.2 Chronology

The sources have been dated according to the stratigraphy and according to internal evidence:

(i) inscriptions mentioning kings and known people,

(ii) medium, eg the back of the scarab and

(iii) style, eg Syrian cylinder seals.

Any difference between the stratigraphic context (or if this is unclear) and the date given has been stated. The importance of the date of the sources in ascertaining the extent and *Sitz im Leben* of the cult of the gods Reshef and Baᶜal has already been emphasized in the previous paragraphs.

The "royal" Egyptian reliefs depicting *Reshef* date from the period 1500-1308 or the 18th dynasty of Egypt (*RR36-38*), but the "private" monuments, the votive stelae (*RR1-35*) from the 19th-20th dynasties (1307-1070). It is sometimes more difficult to date the seals and other art in miniature, but the sources *RM1-23* come from the LB period (c 1500-1150), whereas the items *RM24*ff depicting the god Reshef on

the horned animal come from the period IAI (1150-1000) as well. The bronze statuettes (*RB1-1*) date from the 14th to 11th centuries.

Reliefs depicting the dynastic deity *Baʿal* from Egypt (*BR*5ff) do not predate the 19th dynasty (after 1307). The relief of Baʿal from the Levant (*BR1*) has a date that is still enigmatic. The glyptic and miniature corpus dates from LB to IAI (c 1500-1000), whereas the pottery, statue and bronzes are from the 15th-14th centuries (*2.2.3-2.2.5*).

3.3 Media, materials and motifs

In chapter 1 (*introduction*) it has been stated that the goal of this study is to devote attention to all the sources which may depict Reshef and Baʿal and that this should include the important medium of the seals. In the past the study of the iconography of Reshef (for example) has been mostly based on the study of the Egyptian stelae reliefs. *Table 2* summarizes the most important media:

Table 2: iconographic media

	relief	*cylinder*	*stamp*[1]	*bronze*
Reshef	38	8	32	3
Baʿal	19	24	65	2

It can be seen from this that the most common medium in which Reshef is represented is the relief, of which the most common form of relief is the round-topped stela[2] (𓉔). For Baʿal the typical medium of representation is the scarab and stamp seal[3]. More cylinder seals with a

1 Including other forms of miniature art such as amulets.

2 For a description of this medium, see Vandier (1954 389ff); for an English summary see Stewart (1976).

3 See Hornung/Staehelin (1976), with the most recent general English summary by Ben-Tor (1989). Scarabs are average 1,5 - 1,6 cm in lenght (Hornung/Staehelin 1976 33).

depiction of Baʿal are available than cylinder seals[1] depicting Reshef.

Attention has already been given to the importance of the size in determining its *Sitz im Leben* and this will not be repeated here. As already shown in the synthesis to the different types, there may be a close relationship between the geographical perimeters and the medium in which a certain motif or type of the god is executed. The conclusions made here are also written keeping in mind that the picture may be one-sided as one can only judge from the available sources. Nevertheless, with regard to some sources, eg the reliefs and seals, the media are quantitatively well represented, which is not the case with the bronzes and other media. The conclusions are therefore only based on the media of the relief, cylinder seal and stamp seal/amulet.

No Reshef *reliefs* from outside of Egypt have been found and the motif of Reshef riding on horseback or driving a chariot is limited only to Egyptian reliefs. It has been conjectured (*synthesis* to *2.1.1.4*) that this idea might be unique to Egypt. The menacing god is well-known from Egyptian relief-stelae (R*R1-RR23*), but this motif is even found on a cylinder seal and ostracon from Egypt (*RM1*, *15*). There are examples on Levantine seals and Palestinian bronzes (*RB1-2*). Reshef shown sitting with brandished weapon and shield only occurs on Egyptian relief stelae (*RM24-27*) and never on seals or amulets. The motif of the standing god (ie with weapons in reserve or weaponless) occurs on Egyptian reliefs (*RR28*ff) and on Palestinian seals (*RM16-18*).

Unique to the medium of glyptic is the motif of the god on the horned animal. The "deity on the animal" seems to have been a typical Canaanite motif, but in Egypt it also occurs on scarabs (never on cylinder seals).

Baʿal is shown in a great variety of types and with this god the medium also determines the motifs. The menacing god appears on Levantine reliefs and seals, but never on reliefs in Egypt. Baʿal as a standing (weaponless) figure is well-known both in Egypt and the

---

1 See Moortgat-Correns (in *RlA* III 446ff) and in English Collon (1987, cf now also 1990). Cylinders are according to average 1-5 cm high (Moortgat-Correns in *RlA* III 460).

Levant in most media, but it does not appear on cylinders from Egypt. Baʿal and the winged Baʿal-Seth appears as serpent slayer in relief on Egyptian stelae and on Levantine seals. Baʿal and Baʿal-Seth (winged) on the lion and horse never occur on reliefs in the period under discussion (but cf the later relief *fig 46* under *2.2.2.3*).

In sum:

Table 3: motifs, media and origins

	Reshef		
motif	*relief*	*cylinder*	*stamp*
menacing god	E	EL[1]	L
standing god	E	L	L
riding/driving	E		
horned animal			EL
	Baʿal		
motif	*relief*	*cylinder*	*stamp*
menacing god	L	L	E
standing god	EL	L	EL
on lion		L	EL
on horse			L
serpent slayer	E	L	L

1 E = Egypt, L = Levant.

Important observations that can be made on the materials[1] are that most of the relief stelae are executed in limestone and the scarabs and scaraboids in steatite. The stela found at Ugarit in Syria (*BR11*) is made of imported stone. According to Stadelmann (1967 38-39) it could even have been imported from Egypt itself. This reflects the trade links that existed between Egypt and Ugarit (Cornelius 1981 21).

3.4 Position of the figure

The most common characteristic of the figure of Reshef and Baᶜal which distinguishes them from other male gods[2] is the pose, viz a striding figure with spread legs and with the hand raised in a threatening manner above the head (sometimes without weapon).[3]

The items in the catalogue have been ordered according to the pose of the weapons:

(i) brandished,

(ii) held in reserve,

(iii) the ceremonial/symbolic *ḫpš*-sword being held out in front of the king or handed over to the pharaoh,

(iv) no weapons at all.

Animals can serve as a pedestal, like the gazelle or horned animal (Reshef) and the lion or bull (Baᶜal and Baᶜal-Seth). "Deities on animals" is a well-known motif in the divine iconography of Western Asia (but not that of Egypt) (Boehmer in *RlA* III 469)[4]. The figure of Baᶜal on the bull from Hazor (*BS1*) is a cult image. However, not all the animals serve only as a pedestal. The figure of Reshef (and comparable Astarte) on the horse depicts the deity as *riding* the animal and not using it merely as a pedestal. Reference has already been made

1 For detailed discussion of the origin, use and technical quality of the different materials see the monographs by Lucas/Harris (1962) and Moorey (1985).

2 For "smiting" female deities see Falsone (1986).

3 Schulman's view "this very warlike attitude which was the characteristic attribute of Reshef" (1979 73), is not true. Baᶜal also has the same pose.

4 There are even thrones on animals as shown by Metzger (1985 253).

to the tags of the bronzes and the purpose thereof.

Reshef is usually shown standing, but in four cases he is shown sitting, identified by inscriptions in three cases. In contrast, Baʿal always stands. This is interesting as this excludes sitting figures as being depictions of Baʿal in the period under discussion. In the Ugaritic myths Baʿal is described as enthroned (eg in the vision of Baʿal - *KTU* 1.101 obv 1) and has a throne (*KTU* 1.4 I 33ff), but no example of such a representation could be found. Phoenician seals (Culican 1960-1961, 1968 57ff and Metzger 1985 pl 113:1184-1188; cf eg *fig 31a*) show the later Baʿal on a throne, but by then he seems to have got rid of his adversaries Mot and Yam and replaced Ilu as chief of the pantheon who is shown sitting (Pritchard 1969b no 493 and see now Yon/Gachet 1989), comparable to Mekal of Beisan (*fig 1*).

3.5 Attributes

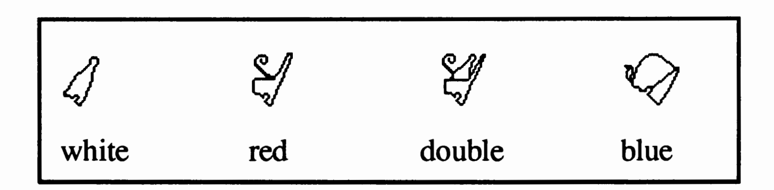
3.5.1 Headdress and accessories

One attribute which can distinguish between a human and a deity is the *headdress*, especially if this is shown with horns[1].

Reshef and Baʿal are both shown with a high headdress or crown, mostly of conical shape and typical to the Egyptian white crown. It is fastened around the chin with a cord. However, there is sometimes a difference between the Asiatic and Egyptian type of crown. The Asiatic type is more of a cylindrical and conical form without the typical point of the Egyptian white crown. There may also be exceptions: Reshef is shown with a band across the forehead (see *table 5*), and Baʿal with a "cylindrical hat", or with the blue crown of Egypt or the double crown.

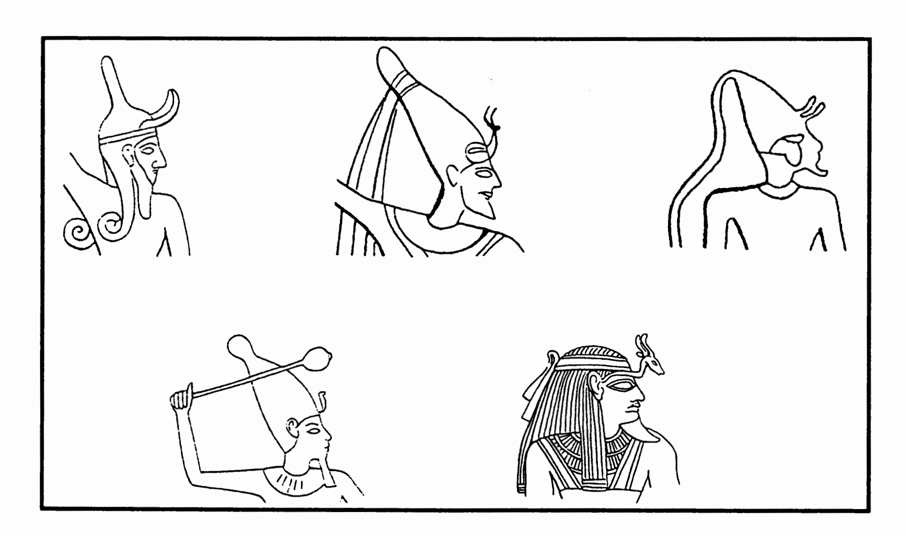
1 This is a typical symbol of deities in Western Asia (Barnett 1964 68; Boehmer in *RlA* IV 432; van Buren 1943).

Table 4: headdresses/crowns



The crown is decorated with a *symbol* in front and a streamer at the back. Reshef and Baʿal are both shown with bull horns. Reshef has the gazelle head and sometimes the Egyptian uraeus. The gazelle head never occurs with Baʿal, more typical for this god is the head of the Seth animal. Quite unique to Baʿal is the bull head (*BR19*) which reflects some Cretan influence.

Table 5: examples of heads of Baʿal and Reshef (*BR1*, *RR7*, *BR13*, *RR10*, *RR30*)



Reshef and Baʿal both have a streamer, but only Baʿal has the lock,

which is a piece of hair (*fig 48*)[1]. This lock of hair (Seeden 1980 141-142) is an important attribute of Baᶜal and has been used as one of the criteria to distiguish between Reshef and Baᶜal in uncertain cases.

Where the sex of the figure is not clear by its body or dress, the *beard* can identify that it is a male deity. Both Baᶜal and Reshef have beards (Staehelin 1966 92-93 and in *LdÄ* I 62ff). Representations of Reshef have the advantage that the beard is shown on the very well executed and preserved stelae. There are two types, the longer Egyptian Osiris type false beard (Pritchard 1969b no 557) and the more thicker and curved Asiatic type (Keel/Küchler/Uehlinger 1984 figs 111-114)[2].

Table 6: examples of beards



3.5.2 Dress and accessories

The most common characteristic of the male gods of Canaan which is an important criterium in identifying them, is their clothes[3] as already shown by Montet in his classic article on the 400-year stela depicting Baᶜal (1931-1933 200ff).

---

1 This lock of hair is also clear on the pyxis depicting the so-called "mistress of animals" from Minet el-Beida (Caquot/Sznycer 1980 pls IV-V; Pritchard 1969b no 464).

2 The divine Egyptian beard is again longer than the human beard as with the figure second on the left in Keel/Küchler/Uehlinger (1984 fig 112).

3 On Egyptian clothes see Bonnet (1964); Staehelin (1966 and in *LdÄ* VI 726ff).

Baʿal and Reshef are both dressed in the kilt. Most common are the tassels which also identify the figures as Canaanite gods. This is known not only in Egypt, but also in Canaan. The importance of the tassels in identifying the gods as Canaanite can be seen by comparing the tassels with scenes depicting Asians in Egyptian art[1]. These tassels are in the form of flowers or fringes[2].

Reshef and Baʿal are, as is typically for deities, always barefoot. An Egyptian element is the tail of the bull which is well-known from Egyptian iconography[3] (Helck in *LdÄ* VI 1986 591; Keel 1974 129ff). In earlier times it was a canine tail, but later it was changed to a bull's tail and even a leopard's tail.

Other decorations are the collars, bracelets and even a pectoral. The chest bands and corselets are the most interesting. As shown by Pope (1970) the bands across the chest carried weapons, as with the war goddess Ishtar (Yadin 1963 173; cf Cornelius 1989 60 fig 10) and Egyptian soldiers (Yadin 1963 159). The bands are used to carry weapons, but in these cases they have taken out their bows. A Theban noble depicted on a stela (Yadin 163) has cross bands and carries arrows and a double-convex bow. Foreign prisoners (Pritchard 1969b no 1) also have empty bands, but because they have been disarmed. These bands could be decorated with beads[4].

---

1 Pritchard (1969b nos 2 [between legs on second figure], 5 [on belt], 6 [sides below and between legs], 7 [between legs], cf 45 , 52). Cf Bertman (1961) and Pritchard (1951) A kilt with tassels is worn by an Asiatic mercenary (Gressmann 1927 no 79), and by the Shashu nomads (Giveon 1971 241-242 pls XVI:A-C).

2 Flower = Pritchard (1969b no 5) and fringes = Pritchard (no 6).

3 It goes back to the Narmer palette (Keel 1980b fig 397; Pritchard 1969b no 296).

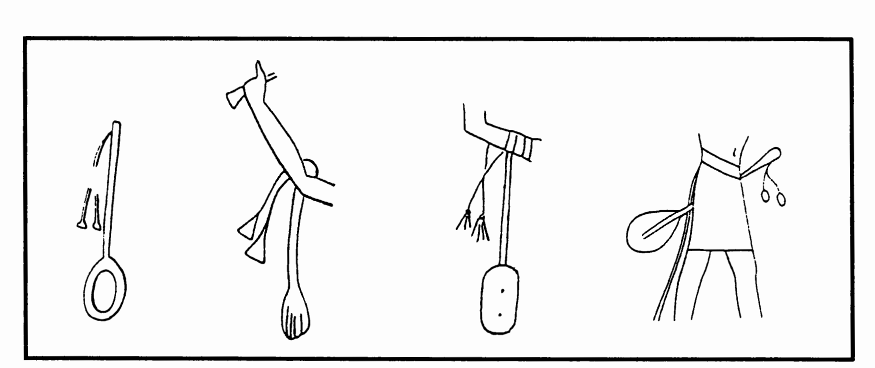
4 In her review of Keel/Schroer (1985), Porada (1989 299-300) remarks that the warrior bands studied by Dales could have been decorated with beads. Stela *BR5* shows exactly what she writes about, namely the bands are decorated with what has been called beads or studs. Perhaps these bands with decoration are also worn by the LB Megiddo warriors painted on a potsherd and on the horse-headed sprout of a vessel (Loud 1948 pl 247:7 and Schumacher 1908 pl XXIV).

Table 7: examples of warrior bands



The *lute* will not be discussed as this has already been done under the *synthesis* to *2.1.1.1*.

Table 8: examples of lutes



3.5.3 Weapons and other objects

One of the most typical attributes of the gods Reshef and Baᶜal is their weaponry. Attention will be given to the position of these weapons and then the individual weapons will be described.

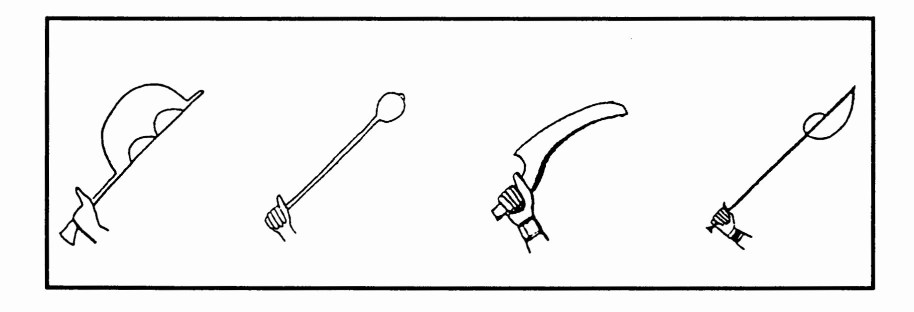
In the catalogue the items have been ordered according to the *position* of the weapons. Two basic types can be distinguished in the case of Reshef: one hand raised holding a hand-weapon (the so-called

"menacing god"), or held in reserve. He can have his weapons raised when depicted with other gods, or held in reserve when faced by worshippers or when standing in a triad with the deities Min and Qudshu. Baʿal has the weapon wielded above his head, or holds it as on the Hazor statue (*BS1*) against his chest.

Different *types* of weapons can be distinguished. There are first of all the attacking weapons such as maces, axes, hand-weapons, spears and bows. Of these only the hand-weapons and mace-axes are brandished; the spear used by the serpent and lion slayer is thrust downwards. The most important defensive weapon is the shield, usually held in front - this is an attribute typical to Reshef alone.

There are different types of hand-weapons[1], identified as the dagger, sword, mace, pear-shaped mace, mace-axe and fenestrated mace-axe or eye axe. The first of the attacking weapons the dagger or the sword is stuck through the belt. A sword is a shorter weapon with a definite pommel at the back, the dagger is a bit shorter. The mace refers to a weapon with a head, but with no cutting edge or blade. The mace-axe is a mace with a blade and the fenestrated battle axe a specific type with eyes or scallops. The fenestrated battle axe developed alongside and as reaction to the introduction of armour (Yadin 1963 13, 168)[2].

Table 9: examples of hand-weapons



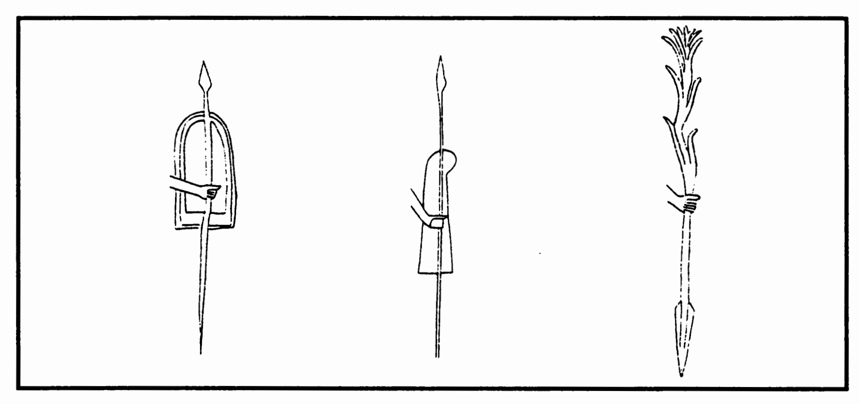
1 Cf Giveon (1971 254 pl XVIII) and Yadin (1963 10-12).

2 For such axes there are lavish comparative sources from the Ancient Near East, eg from the temple at Byblos (Keel 1980b 199 and Yadin 1963 170-171). Cf Müller (1987).

On some reliefs and seals it is unclear exactly what weapon the god is wielding. A series of such long weapons are shown on the Reshef stelae. The uncertainty in identifying these weapons can be seen in the studies of Schulman (1979 no 6, 1981 157n4, 1984b 858n11, 1985 93n 18) in which he first identifies the weapon as a "sword" and then changes it to a "mace-axe". All of these weapons have a long shaft (but shorter than a spear or javelin), but no head (ie like the mace), blade or cutting edge (ie like the axe). What remains is if this could be identified as a sword or spear, viz javelin. The sword/spear/javelin theories are rejected because not one clear example is known where such a weapon is brandished above the head, whereas the mace or axe-types is the usual assault weapon in this position. Ramesses III brandishes a spear above his head (Keel 1980b fig 245a = *fig 60*), but here this is the main assault weapon, the shield with bow being held in reserve in front of him. The usual position of the spear is in front. It seems in conclusion the best to keep the options open and not to identify this weapon - it has therefore been described in the catalogue as "hand-weapon".

Reshef holds the spear in front - held alone or with a shield. The same is true of Baᶜal, but he holds a specific type of spear which ends in a plant. This plant-spear is used to slay the serpent on MB seals (*fig 50*), but is not shown on items in this catalogue. Totally different are the scenes of the serpent and lion slayer where an ordinary spear is used.

Table 10: examples of spears and shields
(*RR7*, *RR8*, *BR1*)



The shield is shown in two ways, viewed from the side or shown full-frontal. When shown from the side it is curved at the top, sometimes the curve is shown toward or away from the figure. The shield shown full is rectangular (or oblong), with rounded top. On bronzes different types occur as well: Hittite 8-formed, oval and rectangular (cf Yadin 1963 13)[1]. Some are depicted with a handle. On the Zaqaziq stelae (Schulman 1984b) there is a decoration of wickerwork.

Reshef carries a quiver filled with arrows, but never a bow as on MB cylinder seals (*figs 22-23*) and a later Egyptian relief (*fig 3*).[2] Baʿal standing on a lion is depicted with a bow[3].

3.5.4 Wings

In the catalogue it has been argued that wings are a unique attribute of Baʿal-Seth (taken over from Seth), but not of Reshef[4]. This motif of the winged Baʿal persisted in the Phoenician period (Keel 1977 figs 149-154). Wings are a typical divine attribute and in the ancient Near East wings are used by deities to move[5] and to protect (Keel 1980b 170-172). Wings are closely connected with the storm or weather gods (Keel 1980b 196), which makes perfect sense with a weather god like Baʿal-Seth.

---

1 Cf Giveon (1971 255 pl XIX).

2 Inscriptions have *ršp ḥṣ*. The Ugaritic incantation *KTU* 1.82 3 invokes Baʿal to protect against the "arrows" of Reshef. These are identified as plagues and diseases (de Moor 1987 176n2, 1990a 106). Comparable to Apollo (Fulco 1976 50; Keel 1980b fig 303 and Schretter 1974 151ff).

3 Compare the Ugaritic texts *KTU* 1.10 II 6-7 and 1.12 II 31-33 describing him as a hunter.

4 Cf *synthesis* to *2.2.1.3* and *introduction* to *2.2.2.2*.

5 Eg the Canaanite Anath - cf *KTU* 1.10 II 11 and discussion in Pope (1971 400ff). On Ugaritic winged deities cf Fensham (1966).

CHAPTER 4: ICONOGRAPHIC TYPOLOGY AND CONCLUSIONS

Chapter 3 contains a synthesis and some conclusions on the iconographic attributes of Reshef and Baʿal. Here attention will be devoted to the iconography as such, ie the visual typology and the meaning of the different motifs. So far much attention has been devoted to identifying certain depictions with a divine name known from the texts. However, the *name* of a deity does not say that much on its function. Much more varied and of far greater importance is the *meaning* involved. Because "smiting god" is the term most commonly used for Reshef and Baʿal, special attention will be devoted to this aspect, which is here called the "menacing god".

4.1 The menacing god

The term "menacing god" has been used to describe figures with a raised hand or fist, sometimes holding a weapon in the same threatening way. This has been described as the pose of the so-called "smiting god" (Collon 1972; Smith 1962). However, this term is somewhat misleading as it is taken from the figure of the so-called "smiting pharaoh" (Hall 1986) who grabs the enemy and is about to strike him down with a raised weapon (usually a *ḫpš*-sword). In many cases this act is done in the presence of a god.

With the gods Baʿal and Reshef the situation is totally different. There is never an enemy with Reshef, although Baʿal is sometimes striking down a serpent with a raised weapon. As shown under *2.1.2* the absence of an enemy can help in determining if a god or pharaoh is involved. According to Smith (1962 180 and adapted by Collon 1972 130) the enemy is missing because the presence of the god in this pose is enough to convey the impression of *power*. However, this idea should be pursued even further.

Collon (1972) argues that the iconography of the gods in the "smiting" pose may have its origin in the royal Egyptian iconography of

the "smiting pharaoh". It commemorated a victory over the pharaoh's enemies and is the symbol of the invincible *power* of the king of Egypt[1]. It is a very old motif and reaches back to pre-dynastic times, persisting until the Christian period (Hall 1986). The motif used with gods is not Mesopotamian in origin and reached Mesopotamia (Kupper 1961 pl VII:38; Porada 1948a no 510E) and Syria only in the 19th-18th centuries as examples from Mari (Amiet 1961 fig 8), Ebla (*fig 33*) and Alalakh level VII (Collon 1975 pl XXV) illustrate[2]. It reached its apogee in the 16th-12th centuries as shown by the items in this study pertaining to Reshef and Baʿal. The motif continued into the Neo-Hittite period as shown by the Tell Ashera relief (*fig 48*) and is also used in later Phoenician iconography as illustrated by the Ibiza gem (*fig 31*). It is typical to weather gods, but not limited to them as the example of Reshef (who is no weather god) indicates.

In the catalogue sources representing this motif have been described. In nearly all of the cases the deities are shown with a weapon. Only on a few Reshef is weaponless, standing with only a raised hand. It does not matter if the figure is with or without a weapon, the fact is that the hand is raised in an aggressive and menacing *gesture* above the head.

In ancient Egypt the *hand* is a symbol of power (Altenmüller in *LdÄ* II 1977 938; cf Demisch 1984). Keel (1974 158ff) discusses some iconographic sources in this regard. The god Min (cf *RR29*ff) stands with a raised arm holding a flail symbolizing his sexual power. The star sign [hieroglyphs] (*ʿn*) has a raised hand (Keel 1974 fig 74 = *fig 61*). This is very similar to the hand of the figure on *RR5*. *Fig 61* depicts an apotropaic gesture to neutralize the crocodile. It is interesting that sometimes the hand could have a weapon (eg a spear - cf Keel 1974 figs 75-76). This compares well with the items representing Reshef which alternate between the hand alone and the hand *with* a weapon.

---

1 Schulman's hypothesis (1988) that such scenes were actually performed need not be discussed here.

2 Smith (1962 177 with fig 3) uses the vulture stela of Eannatum (cf Keel 1980b fig 110) as evidence that already at the start of the third millennium a similar motif existed in Mesopotamia. But note that on this item the weapon is not held in the typical smiting/menacing position.

Baʿal kills the serpent with a spear.

Also of apotropaic meaning is the gesture of the raised hand against the Lamashtu demon performed by the beings on the second register of one of the bronze amulets from the beginning of the first millennium. Lamashtu brought about infant maladies (Keel 1980b no 91=*fig 62*[1]). This last item is interesting because it shows that the gesture is apotropaic to ward off sickness. From the 7th century comes an amulet (Keel 1980b nos 97a-b; cf Pritchard 1969a 662 and Röllig in Haussig 1965 275-276 with literature) which function it is to protect at birth. It shows two demons and on the backside a striding figure with raised axe (*fig 43*). This last figure has been identified as Baʿal warding off evil (Cornelius 1990 30-31).

The motif of the deity with a raised hand may have its antecedents in seals from before 1500 BCE - showing figures with raised hands. The best example is a plaque published by Keel (in Keel/Schroer/Keel-Leu 1989 264, 266 fig 73 =*fig 63*). It shows a figure with a headdress and uraeus serpents (viz a god) holding a plant sceptre in front (cf Keel 262ff with figs 61ff) and with a raised right hand. This is the victorious weather god returning and bringing the fertility (symbolized by the plant), with the raised hand as a gesture of victory or renewed power (Baʿal and the coming of the rains?). On the backside are dancing worshippers. It is notable that the figure to the right is jubilating over his return and performing the same gesture as the god[2] - even holding a plant sceptre. The plant held by the weather god is also used to slay the serpent as shown by *figs 50-51* above.

There is thus one basic meaning in the raised weapon and raised

---

1 Discussion by Edzard (in Haussig 1965 48) and Farber (in *RlA* VI 442); cf also Pritchard (1969b nos 658, 660 and 665). Pritchard no 857 has lion-headed figures on a bell which may have been rung to ward off evil.

2 But note that the figure has the hand raised as a gesture of power, the jubilation is expressed by the dancing of the other two figures. In Egypt jubilation was expressed by hitting with the one hand on one's chest, with the other arm raised (Brunner-Traut in *LdÄ* II 577:6, 580-581; Keel 1974 160 fig 78, 1980b nos 336, 448).

Compare the hieroglyph 𓀠 (*hnw* = "jubilation") (Gardiner 1967 A8).

hand (or fist), that of absolute *power*. With Reshef no enemy is shown so these scenes cannot be associated with the political or military context of the "smiting pharaoh" scenes. On the other hand the meaning of the fertility or weather god does not fit Reshef as there is no indication that he is a weather god as already shown by Fulco (1976 14). This aspect is more fitting to Baᶜal

The inscribed stelae depicting Reshef have the titles[1] *nṯr ᶜ3* and *nb pt*: "great god" and "lord of the sky". Simpson (1960 73) argues that this shows that Reshef is a cosmic god of high importance. However, as Fulco says (1976 67) this does not tell us anything particular about his nature - the titles are only used by devotees without giving him a special place in the Theban pantheon (68). Of greater importance are other epithets: *sḏm nwt* "the hearer of prayers" (*RR2, 19*)[2]; "healer" (*jw snb.k RR12*) or "giver of health" (*dj.f snb RR7, 23, 26*) which show that Reshef is seen as a curer of sickness (cf Sadek 1988 155).[3] Reshef also appears with the name of the god Shulman on *RR11*. He may be related to the god of healing Eshmun (Stadelmann 1967 61-62).

From other textual sources it is known that Reshef is a god of sickness. Reference has been made to where Baᶜal is invoked to stop the arrows of Reshef, ie representing plagues and diseases[4]. In the KRT epic (*KTU* 1.14 I 19) Reshef causes death[5], presumably through pestilence or some disease (de Moor 1987 192n7) an aspect in which he agrees with his Mesopotamian counterpart Nergal (von Weiher 1971 90-91) and his Greek colleague Apollo. In Amarna letter 35:13 Nergal (which can also be read Reshef - cf Moran 1987 202) has "wiped out" the population of Cyprus, presumably through pestilence. *RR38* has

---

1 For the titles of Reshef see Fulco (1976 67-68); Sadek (155, 160) and Schulman (1985 91ff).

2 Also connected with Ptah (Schulman 1981 165 and 1985 92).

3 In the light of this, the translation "he multiplies" for *qbȝ.f* on *RR7* seems possible as meaning "he who multiplies (life)".

4 Cf under *3.6*.

5 In the Ugaritic texts, Reshef has the title of "gate keeper of the sun goddess" which reflects his underworld character. Cf Fulco (1976 149f) and Janowski (1989 108n507 [literature!]).

the title "encircler of the desert, Reshef when he burns" which may refer to him being a god of pestilence. Egyptian texts (eg the Leiden magical papyrus - Fulco 1976 12) refer to the poison of Reshef.

This apparent contradiction of a god of life and healing and a god of plagues and sickness who brings about death, can only be solved by using the hypothesis of "polarity"[1]. According to this, a god can control both positive and negative forces, light and darkness, healing and sickness, life and death[2].

In the iconographic sources which have been studied it seems that only the one aspect of Reshef is represented, namely the positive and protective aspect of life and healing. He is never shown attacking an enemy, but only his protective aspect is represented as an aggressive figure with raised arm in a menacing way to protect the worshipper and dedicator against all evil, but mostly sickness. It is not without reason that Reshef has a shield as this is used to *protect.* The shield, like the raised hand as a gesture of power, is used apotropaic to ward off evil, mostly sickness.

Reference has been made to the menacing Baᶜal connected with the victorious fertility god (*fig 63*). The fertility and life-giving aspects of Baᶜal are discussed under the synthesis to *2.2.1.1* and these will not be repeated. Although Reshef and Baᶜal are both depicted in the menacing pose, representing their power the difference lies in the application of this power. Whereas Reshef is more of a *protector* of life, Baᶜal is the *bringer* of life. Reshef carries a *shield* to protect, but Baᶜal holds a *plant spear* symbolising the forces of life.

4.2 The standing god

Some items show Reshef and Baᶜal not in a menacing pose with a raised fist or weapon, but with the weapon in reserve or holding the *wꜣs*-scepter of the Egyptian deities. The last attribute does not help in

1 Cf Fulco (1976 24, 70-71).

2 This is comparable to the goddess Ishtar (Cornelius 1989 63) who is both goddess of life and fertility and of war and death. Cf also the Indian god Shiva who is both creator and destroyer.

determining the exact function of the deities. There are more variants than with *4.1*, which makes determining the meaning of these items more difficult.

A greater help may be the context and the figures with whom the god appears. Reshef (and also Baᶜal but the identification of the figure on *BR14-16* is still a problem) is shown with Min and Qudshu on *RR29-32* (all three deities are positively identified by the inscriptions). Much has been speculated on the fact that Reshef occurs with two deities usually connected with fertility and sex, especially the ithyphallic Min. Stadelmann (1967 73-74, 139)[1] for example agrees that Reshef is a god of healing, but feels that because of the connection with Min and Qudshu, he is also to be connected with eroticism. He thus represents this view. However, nothing indicates that Reshef is connected with eroticism in any context. It seems as if the goddess Qudshu is holding lotus flowers to Min (to smell, as symbol of new life[2]) and serpents to Reshef. However, the meaning of the serpents is unclear because they have no relationship with Reshef. Perhaps the flowers and serpents are merely the attributes of the fertility goddess (they also appear on images where the goddess stands alone - eg Pritchard 1969b nos 471-472) and have not so much to do with the gods flanking her. In sum: nothing (nor the serpents) reflects anything of the erotic aspects of Reshef.

In contrast, Fulco (1976 27, 69) emphasises the warlike aspect - even for the triad stelae[3], although he reinterprets the martial iconography as a sort of "security umbrella" for Syrians in Egypt.[4]

It seems that Reshef on the triad stelae is not a fertility or war god. On these small stelae dedicated by private people (ie not royal) he is invoked as a "private god". He is as Giveon (1980 144) argues "a

1 Also followed by Helck (1966 7ff) and accepted by Seeden (1980 148). Sadek (1988 156) even makes Qudshu the consort of Reshef.

2 Cf Keel (1984 67-68).

3 Cf Keel (1984a 43) who describes it as: "...die Brachialgewalt des Krieges....". It is interesting that the warrior-goddess Anat also occurs on the second register of *RR31* (*fig 14*) in a pose identical to that of Reshef on *RR23-24*.

4 But note that these stelae are mostly dedicated by Egyptians (Giveon 1980 144).

benevolent god who represents life and well-being". That he stands with weapons indicates that he is still a *protector*.

Both Reshef and Baʿal are depicted as typical Egyptian gods (eg Amun[1] or Monthu) holding out the *ḫpš*-sword to the pharaoh (*RM16* and *BR4-5*). The symbolism has already been discussed in chapter 2 (*synthesis* to *2.2.1.2*) and this will not be repeated. What is of importance is that Canaanite deities are performing acts usually typical of Egyptian deities - indicating to what extent these foreign gods were assimilated in the Egyptian religious system. How important these foreign gods were rated may be indicated by the fact that they are depicted with the major deities of ancient Egypt:

Reshef	
Amun-Reʿ	*RR32, RR34*
Horus	*RR27*
Min	*RR28-31*
Ptah	*RR1, RM18*
Reʿ-Harakhty	*RM3*
Seth	*RR34, RM2-3*
Baʿal	
Amun-Reʿ	*BR9, BR12*
Geb	*BR6*
Khonsu	*BR9*
Monthu	*BR12*
Mut	*BR9*
Neith	*BR7*
Ptah	*BM8, BR9*
Seth	*BM22*
Sobek	*BR9*

1 Baʿal is identified with Seth, but note that in *KTU* 2.23 he may be identified with Amun.

4.3 Deities on animals

One of the criteria to determine whether an image may be identified as a deity is the use of the animal pedestal for the Western Asiatic deities (Boehmer in *RlA* III 469)[1]. The important iconographic motif of the *deities on animals* has been discussed (*2.2.2.3*) and will not be repeated here. What is of interest is why *certain animals* are connected with certain deities.

Gazelle/horned animal: This pedestal is unique to Reshef, but the exact symbolism behind it still eludes interpreters[2]. Perhaps it has something to do with life and regeneration (Keel/Küchler/Uehlinger 1984 150).

Horse: Baᶜal is shown on the back of a horse (*2.2.2.4*), but there he is standing and not depicted as an equestrian. Only Reshef is depicted as riding a horse - this motif occurs only on reliefs from Egypt.[3] The use of horses was the prerogative of the pharaoh, and it has to do with the description of the military prowess (cf the Egyptian inscriptions) of the pharaoh. The horse had no practical use in the ancient Near East and its main use was in warfare - it therefore represents military power.

Lion: Baᶜal is depicted on a lion The lion is also a symbol of power, not limited to war as the horse is, but a representation of power *an sich*. The hypothesis has been formulated that a figure with a bow standing on a lion (*BM64-65*, with *synthesis 2.2.2.3:iv*) could be identified with Baᶜal.

Bull: As a weather god (like Addu) Baᶜal is depicted on a bull[4]. The bull not only represents procreative power, but also military power (i e the ability to destroy an adversary) as shown by *BM85*.

---

1 For animals in religion see Heiler (1979 77ff).

2 Cf the remarks of Giveon (1980 144-145) on the gazelle head or horns in this regard.

3 Cf *synthesis* of *2.1.1.3*.

4 Cf discussion under *synthesis* to *2.2.1.3* and *2.2.4.1* above .

4.4 The monster slayer

The term refers to both the serpent, the lion and the demon slayer and is applicable only to Baᶜal[1]. On the Tell ez-Zafi seal (*fig 49a*) both the lion and the serpent appear as enemies of Seth. In Egypt the enemy of Seth is the serpent of chaos, Apophis (*fig 39*). Ugaritic texts mention two great adverseries of Baᶜal: Yam the sea and the god of death, Mot. Is this also depicted in the iconographic sources? Reference has been made to the battle of Baᶜal with the god Yam (*synthesis* to *2.2.2.5*), but it is not necessary to identify the enemy with a certain name known from the texts. Of greater importance is the meaning. The serpent represents chaos and Baᶜal, the bearer of life (and order), has to control these forces[2]. In the same way he fights against lions[3] and demons (e g *BM87*) who threaten the ordered cosmos.

4.5 Final conclusions: "religionsinterner Pluralismus" and the iconography of Reshef and Baᶜal

In a recent article on Israelite monotheism, Manfred Weippert argues that there is not only one level or type of religion, but that it is multi-dimensional. He differentiates between three levels of religious experience and expression: "...die Familie, der Wohnort oder die Region und der Staat" (1990 153)[4]. Perhaps these have also to be taken into account when the function of the gods Reshef and Baᶜal is being considered[5].

---

1 For the king as lion slayer together with the smiting king see Keel (1980b fig 383).

2 Cf also the god with spear fighting against water as chaos on a seal in Keel (1980b fig 42).

3 Keel (1980a 266 = in Keel/Shuval/Uehlinger 1990 194) seems to identify the lion killed by a bull on the Keisan scarab number 9 as Mot.

4 Cf in this regard the term "religionsinterner Pluralismus" (Lanczkowski 1971 50-55), also Albertz (1978 17 and now 1992 41-43).

5 From Ugaritic texts we know that local cults played an important role in the rural communities (Heltzer 1976 71-74).

In his summary article on Reshef, Schulman argues that of all the Canaanite gods in Egypt, Reshef "must have been the most popular" (1985 89). He bases his argument on the 46 representations that have been found. For Baᶜal there are no private stelae known to have originated from Egypt[1], although there are a fair number of private stelae (especially from the workers' colony at Deir el-Medina) dedicated to Reshef. The function of these stelae in the sphere of personal religion is emphasized when the size is taken into account. In contrast to the official ones, which are about 67 cm high (e g *RR12*), the private ones are much smaller (e g 10 cm for *RR6*).

It is believed that this study has been able to indicate how important the iconographic sources are in the study of the religion of ancient Canaan. In this regard they can fulfil a role comparable to the texts from Ugarit which have so greatly adhanced our knowledge of Ugaritic religion (Mulder 1979). But the Ugaritic texts are one-sided, limited in certain cases and provide only a restricted perspective[2].

The iconographic sources should be used as independent sources. Only by using both the textual and visual sources will we be able to come to a re-evaluation and appreciation of the intrinsic religious values of ancient Canaanite society. This will further enable us to get rid of the older biased idea of Canaanite religion, as expressed in the classic words of Albright: "...the Canaanites with their orgiastic nature-worship, their cult of fertility in the form of serpent symbols and sensuous nudity, and their gross mythology...." (1957 281)[3].

---

1 One private stela (*BR11*) comes from Ugarit.

2 These texts reflect the official view of Canaanite religion and can at best be a "sample" (Caquot/Sznycer 1980 7-8) of Canaanite religion in general. Cf also Fensham who writes: "...religious conceptions were not identical all over the Canaanite world" (1966 158).

3 Cf also Oldenburg (1969 preface): "The more I studied pre-Israelite religion, the more I was amazed with its utter depravity and wickedness. Indeed there is nothing in it to inspire the sublime faith of Yahweh. His coming is like the rising sun dispelling the darkness of Canaanite superstition."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

For abbreviations, see Schwertner S, Theologische Realenzyklopädie. Abkürzungsverzeichnis. Berlin/New York 1976. Other titles of journals and monographic series are written out in full.

Abu-Assaf A/Bordreuil P/Millard A R, La statue de Tell Fekherye et son inscription bilingue assyro-araméenne. Paris 1982.

Abubakr A M, Untersuchungen über die altägyptischen Kronen. Glückstadt 1937.

Ahlström G W, An Israelite god figurine from Hazor. OrSuec 19-20 (1970-1971) 54-62.

--- An Israelite god figurine, once more. VT 25 (1975) 106-109.

--- An archaeological picture of Iron Age religions in ancient Palestine. StOr 55/3 (1984) 117-145.

Aimé-Giron N, Adversaria Semitica (III).VIII. Baal Saphon et les dieux de Tahpanhès dans un nouveau papyrus phénicien. ASAE 40 (1940) 433-460.

Akurgal E/Hirmer M, The art of the Hittites. London 1962.

Albertz R, Persönliche Frömmigkeit und offizielle Religion. Religionsinterner Pluralismus in Israel und Babylon (CThM A9). Stuttgart 1978.

--- Religionsgeschichte Israels in alttestamentlicher Zeit I (ATD Ergänzungsreihe 8/1). Göttingen 1992.

Albright W F, Mesopotamian elements in Canaanite eschatology. Oriental Studies Paul Haupt (ed Adler C/Ember A). Baltimore 1926, 143-154.

--- The Syro-Mesopotamian god Šulmân-Ešmûn and related figures. AfO 7 (1931-1932) 164-169.

--- The Kyle memorial excavation of Bethel. BASOR 56 (1934) 1-15.

--- Astarte plaques and figurines from Tell Beit Mirsim. Mélanges syrien offerts à monsieur René Dussaud I (BAH 30). Paris 1939, 107-120.

--- The Egyptian deity Haurôn. BASOR 84 (1941) 7-12.

--- Baal-Zephon. Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80. Geburtstag (ed Baumgartner W et al). Tübingen 1950, 1-14.

--- From the stone age to Christianity. Garden City, New York 1957[2].

--- The archaeology of Palestine. Baltimore 1960.

--- Archaeology and the religion of Israel. Baltimore 1968[5].

Albright W F/Levi Della Vida G, Some notes on the stele of Ben-Hadad. BASOR 90 (1943) 32-34.

Aldred C, Jewels of the pharaohs. Egyptian jewellery of the dynastic period. London 1971.

Allam S, Everyday life in ancient Egypt (Prism Archaeological Series 1). Guizeh, Egypt 1985.

Alt A, Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel I. München 1953.

Amadasi M G, L'iconografia del carro da guerra in Siria e Palestina (SS 17). Rome 1965.
Amiet P, La glyptique de Mari à l'époque du palais. Note additionelle. Syria 38 (1961) 1-6.
--- Die Kunst des Alten Orients. Freiburg 1977.
--- Der Königsweg. 9000 Jahre Kunst und Kultur in Jordanien und Palästina. Mainz 1987.
Avigad N, Hebrew bullae from the time of Jeremiah. Jerusalem 1986.
Avi-Yonah M/Stern E (eds), Encyclopedia of archaeological excavations in the Holy Land I-IV. Jerusalem 1975-1978.
Bahnassi A, The ancient Syria and its art. Leipzig 1987.
Baines, J/Málek J, Atlas of ancient Egypt. Oxford 1984.
Baramki D, Die Phönizier. Stuttgart 1965.
Barkay G, "The prancing horse" - an official seal impression from Judah of the 8th century BCE. Tel Aviv 19/1 (1992) 124-129.
Barnett R D, The gods of Zinjirly. Compte rendu de la 11e rencontre assyriologique internationale, Leiden 1962. Leiden 1964, 59-87.
--- ʿAnath, Baʿal and Pasargadae. MUSJ 45 (1969) 407-422.
--- Lions and bulls in Assyrian palaces. Le palais et royauté (ed Garelli P). Paris 1974, 441-446.
Barré M L, dLamma and Rešep at Ugarit: the Hittite connection. JAOS 98 (1978) 465-467.
Barrelet M-T, Les déesses armées et ailées. Syria 32 (1955) 222-260.
--- Figurines et reliefs en terre cuite de la Mésopotamie antique. Vol. 1: Potiers, termes de métier, procédés de fabrication et production (BAH 85). Paris 1968.
Barrois A G, Manuel d'archéologie biblique II. Paris 1953.
Beck P, The bronze plaque from Hazor. IEJ 33 (1983) 78-80.
von Beckerath J, Tanis und Theben. Historische Grundlagen der Ramessidenzeit in Ägypten (ÄF 16). München 1951.
Bell L, Aspects of the cult of the deified Tutankhamun. Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar (BEt 97/1). Cairo 1985, 31-59.
Ben-Arieh S, A mould for a goddess plaque. IEJ 33 (1983) 72-77.
Ben-Tor D, The scarab. Jerusalem 1989.
Beran T H (ed), Länder der Bibel - Archäologische Funde aus dem Vorderen Asien. Mainz 1981.
Bergman J, Horus und das Pferd. Studia Aegyptiaca I. Recueil d'études dédiées à Vilmos Wessetzky à l'occassion de son 65e anniversaire (ed Kákosyá L/Gaál E). Budapest 1974, 13-26.
von Bergmann E, Inschriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung ägyptischer Altertümer des österreichischen Kaiserhauses. Recueil de Travaux 7 (1886) 177-196.
Bertman S, Tasseled garments in the ancient east Mediterranean. BA 24 (1961) 119-128.
Beste I, Kestner-Museum Hannover, Lieferung 2: Skarabäen (Corpus Antiquitatum Aegyptiacarum 2). Mainz 1979.
Beyer D (ed), Meskéné-Emar. Dix ans de travaux. Paris 1982a.

--- Le sceau-cylindre de Shahurunuwa, roi de Karkemish. La Syrie au Bronze récent. Paris 1982b, 67-78.

Beyerlin, W (ed), Religionsgeschichtliches Textbuch zum Alten Testament (ATD Ergänzungsreihe 1). Göttingen 1975.

Bierbrier M, The tomb builders of the pharaohs. London 1982.

Bisno J A, A bronze figurine of Ba'al in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. JNES 29 (1970) 78-79.

Bittel K et al, Das hethitische Felsheiligtum Yazilikaya. Berlin 1975.

--- Die Hethiter. Die Kunst Anatoliens vom Ende des 3. bis zum Anfang des 1. Jahrtausends vor Christus. München 1976.

Bleeker C J/Widengren G (eds), Historia Religionum. Handbook for the history of religions I. Religions of the past. Leiden 1969.

Blok H P, Drei Stelen aus der Spätzeit im Haagner Museum. AcOr 8 (1930) 177-194.

Boehmer R M, Die Entwicklung der Glyptik während der Akkadzeit (UAVA 4). Berlin 1965.

Börker-Klähn J, Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und vergleichbare Felsreliefs I-II (Baghdader Forschungen 4). Mainz 1982.

Boessneck J, Die Tierwelt des Alten Ägypten. München 1988.

Bogoslovsky E S, Monuments and documents from Dêr el-Medîna in the museums of the USSR (Russian). VDI 120/2 (1972) 80-86, 92 (English summary).

Bogolovskaya I V/Bogoslovsky E S, The Syro-Palestinian goddess Qudshu in ancient Egypt (Russian). PalSb 26/89 (1978) 140-164 (English summary).

Bomann A H, The private chapel in ancient Egypt: a study of the chapels in the workmen's village at El Amarna with special reference to Deir el Medina and other sites. London 1991.

Bonnet C, Melqart: cultes et mythes de l'Héraclès tyrien en méditerranée (Studia Phoenicia 8). Leuven 1988.

Bonnet H, Die Waffen der Völker des Alten Orients. Leipzig 1926.

--- Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte. Ägyptische Religion. Leipzig 1925.

--- Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte. Berlin 1952.

--- Die ägyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches. Hildesheim 1964.

Borchardt L, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saꜣḥu-Re' I. Der Bau. Osnabrück 1982.

--- Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Saꜣḥu-Re' II. Die Wandbilder (Tafeln). Leipzig 1913.

Bordreuil P, Découvertes épigraphiques récentes à Ras Ibn Hani et à Ras Shamra. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1987, Janvier-Mars. Paris 1987, 289-301.

Bordreuil P/Gubel E (eds), Bulletin d'ántiquites archéologiques du Levant inédites ou méconnues III. Syria 63/3-4 (1986) 434-435.

Boreux C, Musée national du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes I. Paris 1932.

--- La stèle C 86 du musée du Louvre et les stèles similaires. Mélanges syrien offerts à monsieur René Dussaud II (BAH 30). Paris 1939, 673-687.

Bossert H T, Das hethitische Pantheon. AfO 8 (1932-1933) 297-307.

--- Altsyrien. Tübingen 1951.

van den Branden A, Le dieu Reseph et ses epithètes. ParOr 2 (1971) 389-416.
Breasted J H, Ancient records of Egypt. Historical documents III. The nineteenth dynasty. New York 1962.
Bromiley G W (ed), The international standard Bible encyclopedia IV. Grand Rapids 1988.
Brug J F, A literary and archaeological study of the Philistines (British archaeological reports international series 265). Oxford 1985.
Brugsch K H, Thesaurus inscriptionum aegyptiacarum V/VI. Abteilung. Graz 1968.
Brunner-Traut E, Die alten Ägypter. Verborgenes Leben unter Pharaonen. Stuttgart 1974.
Brunton G, Qau and Badari III. London 1930.
--- Matmar. London 1948.
Bruyère B, Fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1931-1932) (FIFAO 10). Cairo 1934.
--- Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1934-1935) (FIFAO 15). Cairo 1937.
--- Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh (1935-1940) (FIFAO 20). Cairo 1952.
Bruyère B/Kuentz C, Tombes thébaines la nécropole de Deir el-Médineh (MIFAO 54). Cairo 1926.
Buchanan B, Catalogue of the ancient Near Eastern seals in the Ashmolean Museum I. Cylinder seals. Oxford 1966.
Buchanan B/Moorey P R S, Catalogue of ancient Near Eastern seals in the Ashmolean Museum III. The Iron Age. Oxford 1988.
Budge E W, A guide to the Egyptian collections in the British Museum. London 1909.
van Buren E D, The fauna of ancient Mesopotamia as represented in art (AnOr 18). Rome 1939.
--- The rosette in Mesopotamian art. ZA 45 (1939a) 99-107.
--- Concerning the horned cap of the Mesopotamian gods. Or. 12 (1943) 318-327.
--- Symbols of the gods in Mesopotamian art (AnOr 23). Rome 1945.
Burkert W, Rešep-Figuren, Apollon von Amyklai und die Erfindung des Opfers aus Cypern. GrB 4 (1975) 51-79.
CAH = The Cambridge ancient history II/1-2 (ed Edwards I E S et al). Cambridge 1975/1978[3].
Calmeyer-Seidl U, W. Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens. Festschrift Kurt Bittel (ed Boehmer R H/Hauptmann H). Mainz 1983, 151-154.
Capart J, Le cheval et le dieu Seth. Mélanges Maspero II. Cairo 1934, 227-231.
--- Contribution à l'iconographie du dieu Seth. CEg 21 (1946) 29-31.
Caquot A, Sur quelques démons de l'Ancien Testament. Sem. 6 (1958) 53-68.
--- Séance du 4 Juillet. Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 1986, Janvier-Mars. Paris 1986, 437-439.
Caquot A/Sznycer M, Ugaritic Religion (IoR 15/8). Leiden 1980.
Cassirer M, A scarab with an early representation of Resheph. JEA 45 (1959) 6-7.
Cassuto U, The goddess Anath. Jerusalem 1971.
Černy J, A community of workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside period. Cairo 1973.

Chester G J, More notes on Phoenician gems and amulets. PEFQSt (1886) 43-50.
Chouraqui A (ed), L'univers de la Bible I-V. Paris 1983.
Clamer C, A gold plaque from Tel Lachish. Tel Aviv 7 (1980) 152-162.
Cledat J, Notes sur l'Isthme de Suez. BIFAO 16 (1919) 201-228.
Clère J J, Nouveaux documents relatifs au culte des colosses de Ramsès II dans le delta. Kêmi 11 (1950) 24-46.
Collon D, The smiting god. A study of a bronze in the Pomerance collection in New York. Levant 4 (1972) 111-134.
--- A bronze in the Pomerance collection, New York. Levant 5 (1973) 133.
--- The seal impressions from Tell Atchana/Alalakh (AOAT 27). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1975.
--- The Alalakh cylinder seals. A new catalogue of the actual seals excavated by Sir Leonard Woolley at Tell Atchana, and from neighbouring sites on the Syrian-Turkish border (British archaeological reports international series 132). Oxford 1982.
--- Review of Gorelick L/Williams-Forte, E 1983. AfO 33 (1986) 98-101.
--- First impressions. Cylinder seals in the ancient Near East. London 1987.
--- Near Eastern seals. London 1990.
Collon D/Crouwel J/Littauer M A, A bronze chariot group from the Levant in Paris. Levant 8 (1976) 71-81.
Conrad D, Der Gott Reschef. ZAW 83 (1971) 157-183.
Contenau G, La glyptique syro-hittite (BAH 2). Paris 1922.
--- Manuel d'archéologie orientale depuis les origines jusqu'à l'époque d'Alexandrie II. Paris 1934.
Coogan M D, Canaanite origins and lineage: reflections on the religion of ancient Israel. Ancient Israelite religion. Essays in honor of Frank Moore Cross (ed Miller P D/Hanson P D/McBride S D). Philadelphia 1987, 115-126.
Cook S A, The religion of ancient Palestine in the light of archaeology. London 1925 (Munich 1980 reprint).
Cooper A, "MLK ʿLM: Eternal king" or "king of eternity". Love & death in the Ancient Near East. Essays in honor of Martin H Pope (ed Marks J H/Good R M). Guilford 1987, 1-7.
Cornelius I, A bird's eye view of trade in ancient Ugarit. JNWSL 9 (1981) 13-31.
--- The commercial relations of Canaan in the second millennium BC - a discussion of the cuneiform texts from Mari and Ugarit. Pillars of smoke and fire. The Holy Land in history and thought (ed Sharon M). Johannesburg 1988, 14-32.
--- The lion in the art of the ancient Near East: a study of selected motifs. JNWSL 15 (1989) 53-85.
--- The sun epiphany in Job 38:12-15 and the iconography of the gods in the Ancient Near East - the Palestinian connection. JNWSL 16 (1990) 25-43.
--- The iconography of the Canaanite gods Ilu, Baʿal/Hadad, Anath, Qudshu and Asherah (unpublished Human Sciences Research Council of South Africa research report). 1992.

Cornelius I, Bronze figurines in the Hecht-Collection (Haifa) depicting the Canaanite gods Reshef and Baal. Michmanîm 7 (1994) 7*-15* (cited as forthcoming).
Couroyer B, Review of Fulco, W 1976. RB 85 (1978) 150-152.
Courtois J C, Ras Shamra. I. Archéologie. Supplément au dictionnaire de la Bible 52 (ed Cazelles H/Feuillet A). Paris 1979, 1124-1295.
Cruz-Uribe E, Hibis temple project I. Translations, commentary, discussion and sign list. San Antonia 1988.
Culican W, Melqart representations on Phoenician seals. Abr Nahrain 2 (1960-1961) 41-54.
--- The iconography of some Phoenician seals and seal impressions. AJBA 1/1 (1968) 50-103.
--- Problems of Phoenico-Punic iconography - a contribution. AJBA 1/3 (1970) 28-57.
--- Baal on an Ibiza gem. RSF 4/1 (1976) 57-68.
Dąbrowski B, The representations of deities in the types of Seth, Baʿal, Reshep on scarabs from the New Kingdom (Polish) (M A Jagellonian University Cracow). 1988.
--- Some remarks on a winged Asiatic deity standing on an animal. Studies in ancient art and civilizations I (ed Śliwa J). Cracow 1991, 21-24.
--- The winged Seth standing between two uraei. Studies in ancient art and civilizations II (ed Śliwa J). Cracow 1992, 35-39.
Dahood M/Pettinato G, Ugaritic ršp gn and Eblaite rasap gunu(m)^{ki}. Or. 46 (1977) 230-232.
Daressy G, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Cairo nos 25001-25385 ostraca. Cairo 1901.
Davies G I, Megiddo. Cambridge 1986.
Davies N d G, The tomb of Nefer-ḥotep at Thebes (MMA Egyptian expedition 5). New York 1933.
--- The temple of Hibis in El Khargeh Oasis. Part III. The Decoration (MMA Egyptian expedition 17). New York 1953.
--- The tomb of Rekh-mi-Reʿ at Thebes (MMA Egyptian expedition 11). New York 1973 (reprint of 1943 edition).
Day J, New light on the mythological background of the allusion to Resheph in Habakkuk III, 5. VT 29 (1979) 353-355.
--- God's conflict with the dragon and the sea: echoes of a Canaanite myth in the Old Testament. Cambridge 1985.
Day P L, Anat: Ugarit's "mistress of animals". JNES 51/3 (1992) 181-190.
Decker W, Die physische Leistung Pharaohs. Untersuchungen zu Heldentum, Jagd und Leibesübungen der ägyptischen Könige. Köln 1971.
Deighton H J, The "weather-god" in Hittite Anatolia. An examination of the archaeological and textual sources (British archaeological reports international series 143). Oxford 1982.
von Deines H, Die Nachrichten über das Pferd und den Wagen in den ägyptischen Texten. MIOF 1/1 (1953) 3-15.
Deist, F (ed), Die Bybel leef. Cape Town 1982.

Deist, F/le Roux, J H, Revolution and reinterpretation. Chapters from the history of Israel. Cape Town 1987.

Delaporte L, Musée du Louvre. Catalogue des cylindres orientaux cachets et pierres gravées de style oriental I-II. Paris 1920-1923.

Demirčioglu H, Der Gott auf dem Stier. Berlin 1939.

Demisch H, Erhobene Hände. Geschichte einer Gebärde in der bildenden Kunst. Stuttgart 1984.

Derchain-Urtel M-T, Ikonographie. Lexikon der Ägyptologie III (ed Helck W et al). Wiesbaden 1980, 128-137.

Dever W G, Review of Negbi, 1976. JBL 98 (1979) 101-103.

--- Material remains and the cult in ancient Israel: an essay in archaeological systematics. The word of the Lord shall go forth. Essays in honor of D N Freedman (ed Meyers C/O'Connor M) (American Schools of Oriental Research Special volume series 1). Winona Lake 1983, 571-587.

--- The contribution of archaeology to the study of Canaanite and early Israelite religion. Ancient Israelite religion. Essays in honor of Frank Moore Cross (ed Miller P D/Hanson P D/McBride S D). Philadelphia 1987, 209-247.

Digard F, Répertoire analytique des cylindres orientaux. Vol I-III. Paris 1975.

Dondelinger E, Die Treibtafel des Herodot am Bug des ägyptischen Nilschiffes. Graz 1976.

Donner H, Die Herkunft des ägyptischen Wortes [hieroglyphs] = Pferd. ZÄS 80 (1955) 97-103.

--- Die Verwerfung des Königs Saul (Sitzungsberichte der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johannes Wolfgang Goethe-Universität Frankfurt 19/5). Frankfurt 1983.

Dothan T, Excavations at the cemetry of Deir el-Balaḥ (Qedem 10). Jerusalem 1979.

Drijvers H J W, History of civilization and the teaching of dead languages. General linguistics and the teaching of dead Hamito-Semitic languages (ed Hospers J H). Leiden 1978, 86-92.

Dunand M, Fouilles de Byblos I-II (BAH 24). Paris 1937-1958.

DuRy C J, Völker des Alten Orient. München.

Dussaud R, Bethel seal. BASOR 56 (1934) 202-203.

--- Les éléments déchainés. Une application des règles rythmiques de la poésie phénicienne. Syria 16 (1935) 196-204.

--- Les découvertes de Ras Shamra (Ugarit) et l'Ancien Testament. Paris 1937.

--- L'art phénicien du II^{e} millénaire. Paris 1949.

Edgerton W F/Wilson J A, Historical records of Ramses III. The texts in Medinet Habu I-II (SAOC 12). Chicago 1936.

Edwards I E S, A relief of Qudshu-Astarte-Anath in the Winchester College collection. JNES 14 (1955) 49-51.

--- Tutankhamun: his tomb and its treasures. New York 1977.

Eggler J, Scarabs from excavations in Palestine/Transjordan from Iron Age I (c 1200-1000 B C) (Unpublished MA thesis University of Stellenbosch). 1992.

Eisen G A, Ancient oriental cylinder and other seals with a description of the collection of Mrs W H Moore (OIP 47). Chicago 1940.

Eissfeldt O, Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kassios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer. Halle 1932.
--- Kleine Schriften IV. Tübingen 1968.
Eliade M (ed), Encyclopedia of Religion 12. New York 1987.
El-Sawi A, Excavations at Tell Basta. Report of seasons 1967-1971 and catalogue of finds. Prague 1979.
Erman A, Die Religion der Ägypter. Ihr Werden und Vergehen in vier Jahrtausenden. Berlin 1934.
Erman A/Grapow H, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I-XII. Berlin 1982[4].
Falsone G, Anath or Astarte? A Phoenician bronze statuette of the "smiting goddess". Religio Phoenicia (Studia Phoenicia 4) (ed Bonnet C/Lipiński E/Marchetti P), 53-76. Namur 1986.
Faulkner R O, The ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts I-II. Oxford 1969.
Fensham F C, Winged gods and goddesses in the Ugaritic tablets. OrAnt 5 (1966) 157-164.
--- A possible explanation of the name Baal-Zebub of Ekron. ZAW 79/3 (1967) 361-364.
Firth C M, The archaeological survey of Nubia. Report for 1910-1911. Cairo 1927.
Fitzgerald A, The technology of Isaiah 40:19-20 + 41:6-7. CBQ 51/3 (1989) 426-446.
Frank K, Bilder und Symbole Babylonisch-Assyrischer Götter. Leipzig 1906.
Franken H J, Excavations at Tell Deir ʿAlla: a stratigraphical and analytical study of the early Iron Age pottery. Leiden 1969.
Frankfort H, Cylinder Seals. A documentary essay on the art and religion of the ancient Near East. London 1939.
--- Kingship and the gods. A study of ancient Near Eastern religion as the integration of society and nature. Chicago 1978.
--- The art and architecture of the ancient Orient (The Pelican History of Art 27). Harmondsworth 1979.
Friedrich J, Ras Schamra. Ein Überblick über Funde und Forschungen (AO 33/1-2). Leipzig 1933.
Fulco W J, The Canaanite God Rešep (American Oriental Society 8). New Haven 1976.
Fuscaldo P, Los divinidades asiaticas en Egipto. Reshep y Qadesh au Deir el Medina. Rivista del instituto de historia antigua oriental 1 (1972) 115-136, 2 (1976) 127-144.
Galling K (ed), Biblisches Reallexikon (HAT I). Tübingen 1937.
Galling K (ed), Biblisches Reallexikon (HAT I). Tübingen 1977[2].
Galling K, Archäologische Bemerkungen. ZDPV 57 (1934) 153-158.
--- Miscellanea archaeologica. ZDPV 83/2 (1967) 123-135.
Gardiner A K, Late-Egyptian miscellanies (BAeg 7). Brussels 1937.
--- Egypt of the pharaohs. 1961 Oxford.
--- Egyptian Grammar. Being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs. Oxford/London 1967/1982.
Gardiner A K/Peet T E/Černy J, The inscriptions of Sinai I-II. London 1952-1955.
Garstang J, Jericho. City and necropolis. AAA 20 (1933) 3-42.

Gauthier H, Les fêtes du dieu Min. Cairo 1931.
Gerstenblith P, The Levant at the beginning of the Middle Bronze Age (American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 5). 1983 Winona Lake.
Gese H, Die Religionen Altsyriens. Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandäer (Die Religionen der Menschheit 10/2). Stuttgart 1970.
Gilula M, צְבִי in Isaiah 28,1 - a head ornament. Tel Aviv 1 (1974) 128.
Giveon R, Two Egyptian documents concerning Bashan from the time of Ramses II. RSO 40 (1965) 197-202.
--- Les bédouins Shosou des documents égyptiennes (DMOA 12). Leiden 1971.
--- Egyptian inscriptions from the Dayan antiquities collection (Hebrew). Excavations and studies. Essays in honour of Professor Shemuel Yeivin (ed Aharoni Y). Tel-Aviv 1973, 177-182, XXI (English summary).
--- Fouilles et travaux de l'université de Tel-Aviv. Découvertes égyptiennes récentes. BSFE 81 (1978a) 6-17.
--- The impact of Egypt on Canaan. Iconographical and related studies (OBO 20). Fribourg/Göttingen 1978b.
--- Review article. Resheph in Egypt. JEA 66 (1980) 144-150.
--- A second look at some inscribed scarabs. GöMisz 67 (1983) 33-37.
--- Soped in Sinai. Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren Wolfhart Westendorf II. Religion (ed Junge F). Göttingen 1984, 776-784.
--- Egyptian scarabs from Western Asia from the collections of the British Museum (OBO series archaeologica 3). Fribourg/Göttingen 1985a.
--- New material concerning Canaanite gods in Egypt. Proceedings of the 9th world congress of Jewish Studies. Jerusalem 1985b, 1-4.
--- Remarks on the Tel Qarnayim goddess. Biblische Notizen 33 (1986) 7-9.
Giveon R/Kertesz T, Egyptian scarabs and seals from Acco. From the collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums. Fribourg 1986.
Goedicke H, Some remarks on the 400-year stela. CEg 41 (1966) 23-39.
Görg M, Die Bildsprache in Jes 28,1. Biblische Notizen 3 (1977) 17-23.
--- Die Königstochter und die Leier. Biblische Notizen 14 (1981) 7-10.
Görg M/Lang B (ed), Neues Bibel-Lexikon I. Zürich 1991.
Goossens G, Une stèle dédiée a Rešep- Šulman. CEg15 (1940) 65-66.
Gordon C H, Western Asiatic seals in the Walters Art Gallery. Iraq 6 (1939) 3-34.
Goyon G, Deux stèles de Ramses II au Gebel Chalouf. Kêmi 7 (1938) 115-122.
Grant E, Ain Shems excavations (Palestine) 1928-1931 II (BKS 4). Haverford 1932.
Grapow H, Die bildlichen Ausdrücke des Ägyptischen. Vom Denken und Dichten einer altorientalischen Sprache. Darmstadt 1983.
Gray J, The Canaanites. Aylesbury 1964.
--- Near Eastern mythology. London 1969.
Grdseloff B, Les débuts du culte de Rechef en Égypte. Cairo 1942.
Gressman H, Altorientalische Bilder zum Alten Testament. Tübingen 1927[2].
Grieshammer R, Vestnik Drevnej Istorii 1972. GöMisz 4 (1973) 45-49.
Griffith F L, The god Set of Ramessu II and an Egypto-Syrian deity. PSBA 16 (1893-1894) 87-91.
--- The Aberdeen Reshep stela. PSBA 22 (1909) 271-272.

Gröndahl F, Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit (Studia Pohl 1). Rome 1967.
Grønbaek J H, Baal's battle with Yam: a Canaanite creation fight. Journal for the Study of the Old Testament 33 (1985) 27-44.
Gubel E, An essay on the axe-bearing Astarte and her role in a Phoenician "triad". RSF 8 (1980) 1-17.
--- The iconography of the Ibiza gem MAI 3650 reconsidered. Aula Orientalis 4 (1986a) 111-118.
--- Les Phéniciens et le monde méditerranéen Catalogue. Bruxelles 1986b.
--- Phoenician furniture. A typology based on Iron Age representations with reference to the iconographical context (Studia Phoenicia 7). Leuven 1987.
Haas V, Hethitische Berggötter und hurritische Steindämonen. Riten, Kulte und Mythen. Eine Einführung in die kleinasiatischen religiösen Vorstellungen. Mainz 1982.
Habachi L, Khatâna-Qantîr: Importance. ASAE 52 (1954) 443-562.
--- Five stelae from the temple of Amenophis III at Es-Sebuᶜa, now in the Asuan museum. Kush 8 (1960) 45-52.
--- The four hundred year stela originally standing in Khatâʾna-Qantîr or Avaris-Piramesse. Actes du XXIX^{e} congrès international des Orientalistes. Section Egyptologie I 1975. Paris 1977, 41-44.
Hall E S, The pharaoh smites his enemies (MÄS 44). München 1986.
Hall H R, Catalogue of Egyptian scarabs, etc, in the British Museum. Royal scarabs. London 1913.
--- Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae etc in the British Museum VII. London 1925.
--- A general introductory guide to the Egyptian collections in the British Museum. London 1930.
Hammade H, Cylinder seals from the collections of the Aleppo Museum, Syrian Arab Republic I. Seals of unknown provenience (Revised by Hitchcock L) (British archaeological reports international series 335). Oxford 1987.
Hansen D P, A bronze in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University. BASOR 146 (1957) 13-19.
Haslauer E/Satzinger H, Die ägyptischen Altertümer. Die Kunstsammlungen des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes (Österreichische Kunsttopographie Band 48). Wien 1988.
Haussig H W (ed), Wörterbuch der Mythologie I. Götter und Mythen im Vorderen Orient. Stuttgart 1965.
Heiler F, Erscheinungsformen und Wesen der Religion (Die Religionen der Menschheit 1). Stuttgart 1979^{2}.
Helck W, Betrachtungen zur großen Göttin und den ihr verbundenen Gottheiten. München 1961.
--- Zum Auftreten fremder Götter in Ägypten. OrAnt 5 (1966) 1-14.
--- Beiträge zu Syrien und Palästina in altägyptischer Zeit. AfO 22 (1968-1969) 21-27.
--- Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v Chr (ÄA 5). Wiesbaden 1962/1971.

Heltzer M, The rural community in ancient Ugarit. Wiesbaden 1976.
--- Royal economy in ancient Ugarit. State and temple economy in the Ancient Near East (ed Lipiński E). Leuven 1979, 459-496.
Hestrin R, The Philistines and the other Sea Peoples. Jerusalem 1970.
--- The cult stand from Taᶜanach and its religious background. Phoenicia and the east Mediterranean in the first millenium B C (ed Lipiński E) (Studia Phoenicia 5). Leuven 1987, 61-71.
--- Understanding Asherah. Exploring Semitic iconography. Biblical archaeology review 17/5 (1991) 50-59.
Hillmann R, Wasser und Berg. Kosmische Verbindungslinien zwischen dem kanaanäischen Wettergott und Jahwe. Halle 1965.
Hodjash S/Berlev O, The Egyptian reliefs and stelae in the Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow. Leningrad 1982.
Hofmann U, Fuhrwesen und Pferdehaltung im alten Ägypten (Dissertation Bonn) 1989.
Hogarth D G, Hittite seals with particular reference to the Ashmolean Collection. Oxford 1920.
Homes-Fredericq D/Gubel E, Tentoonstelling rolzegel uit Sirie 3300-300 vC (Dokumenten van het Oude Nabije Oosten - Tijdelijke tentoonstellingen 2). Brussels 1981.
Hornung E, Das Amduat, die Schrift des verborgenen Raums. Wiesbaden 1963.
--- Tal der Könige. Die Ruhestätte der Pharaonen. Zürich/München 1985³.
Hornung E/Staehelin E, Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen (Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz 1). Mainz 1976.
Huffmon H B, Amorite personal names in the Mari texts. A structural and lexical study. Baltimore 1965.
IDB = The interpreter's dictionary of the Bible. An illustrated encyclopedia IV (ed Buttrick G A). Nashville/New York 1962.
Ippel A/Roeder G, Die Denkmäler des Pelizaus-Museums zu Hildesheim. Berlin 1921.
Iwry S, New evidence for belomancy in ancient Palestine and Phoenicia. JAOS 81 (1961) 27-34.
Jacob E, Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament. Paris 1960.
Jacobsen T, Pictures and pictorial language (The Burney relief). Figurative language in the Ancient Near East (ed M Mindlin, et al). London 1987, 1-11.
Jacobstahl P, Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst. Ein formgeschichtlicher Versuch. Berlin 1906.
Jaeger B, Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê (OBO series archaeologica 2). Fribourg/Göttingen 1982.
James F W, The Iron Age at Beth Shan. A study of levels IV-VI. Philadelphia 1966.
--- Chariot fittings from Late Bronze Age Beth Shan. Archaeology in the Levant. Essays for Kathleen Kenyon (ed Moorey R/Parr P). Warminster 1978, 103-115.
James T G H, Hieroglyphic texts from Egyptian stelae etc. Part 9. London 1970.
Janowski B, Rettungsgewissheit und Epiphanie des Heils. Das Motiv der Hilfe Gottes "am Morgen" im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament I: Alter Orient (WMANT 59). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1989.

Janssen J M A, Une stèle du dieu Reshef à Cambridge. CEg 25 (1950) 209-212.
Jaroš K, Die Stellung des Elohisten zur kanaanäischen Religion (OBO 4). Fribourg/ Göttingen 1982[2].
Jéquier M G, Une coiffure divine. BIFAO 30 (1930) 27-31.
Jeremias J, Theophanie. Die Geschichte einer alttestamentlichen Gattung (WMANT 10). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1977[2].
Jirku A, Die Welt der Bibel. Fünf Jahrtausende in Palästina - Syrien. Zürich 1962.
Johns C N, Excavations at ʿAtlît (1930-1931). QDAP 2 (1933) 41-104.
Johnson S B, The cobra goddess of ancient Egypt: Predynastic, Early dynastic and Old Kingdom periods. London 1990.
Joundi A, Direction général des antiquites et des museés, Musée national de Damas. Départemént des antiquités syro-orientalés. Damascus 1976.
KAI = Donner H/Röllig W, Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften I-III. Wiesbaden 1966-1968.
Kaiser, O (ed), Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments II/3. Rituale und Beschwörungen II. Gütersloh 1988.
Kapelrud A S, Baal in the Ras Shamra texts. Copenhagen 1952.
--- The violent goddess. Anat in the Ras Shamra texts. Oslo 1969.
Kaplony P, Katalog der Rollsiegel II (MonAeg 3). Bruxelles 1981.
Kayser H, Die ägyptischen Altertümer in Roemer Pelizaeus-Museum in Hildesheim. Hildesheim 1973.
Keel O, Das Vergraben der "fremden Götter" in Genesis XXXV 4b. VT 23/3 (1973) 305-336.
--- Wirkmächtige Siegeszeichen im Alten Testament. Ikonographische Studien zu Jos 8,18-26; Ex 17,8-13; 2 Kön 13,14-19 und 1 Kön 22,11 (OBO 5). Fribourg/ Göttingen 1974.
--- Kanaanäischen Sühneriten auf ägyptischen Tempelreliefs. VT 25 (1975) 413-469.
--- Musikinstrumente, Figuren und Siegel im judäischen Haus der Eisenzeit II (900-586 v Chr). Heiliges Land 4/3 (1976) 35-43.
--- Der Bogen als Herrschaftssymbol. Einige unveröffentliche Skarabäen aus Ägypten und Israel zum Thema "Jagd und Krieg". ZDPV 93 (1977a) 141-177.
--- Jahwe-Visionen und Siegelkunst. Eine neue Deutung der Majestätsschilderungen in Jes 6, Ez 1 und 10 und Sach 4 (SBS 84/85). Stuttgart 1977b.
--- Jahwes Entgegnung an Ijob. Eine Deutung von Ijob 38-41 vor dem Hintergrund der zeitgenössischen Bildkunst (FRLANT 121). Göttingen 1978a.
--- The symbolism of the biblical world. Ancient Near Eastern iconography and the book of Psalms. New York 1978b.
--- La Glyptique. Tell Keisan (1971-1976). Une cité phénicienne en Galilée (ed J Briend/J B Humbert) (OBO series archaeologica 1). Fribourg/Göttingen 1980a, 267-268.
--- Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament. Am Beispiel der Psalmen. Neukirchen-Vluyn/Zürich 1980b[3].
--- Der Pharao als "Vollkommene Sonne": Ein neuer ägypto-palästinischer Skarabäentyp. Egyptological Studies (ed Israelit-Groll S) (ScrHie 28). Jerusalem

1982, 406-530.
--- Die Bibel mischt sich ein. Zürich 1984a.
--- Deine Blicke sind Tauben. Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes (SBS 114/115). Stuttgart 1984b.
--- Das Hohelied (ZBK18). Zürich 1986a.
--- A stamp seal research project and a group of scarabs with raised relief. Akkadica 49 (1986b) 1-16.
--- Vernachlässigte Aspekte biblischer Schöpfungstheologie. KatBl 3 (1986c) 168-179.
Keel-Leu H, Vorderasiatische Stempelsiegel. Die Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz (OBO 110). Fribourg/Göttingen 1991.
Keel O/Keel-Leu H/Schroer S, Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel II (OBO 88). Fribourg/Göttingen 1989.
Keel O/Küchler M, Orte und Landschaften der Bibel. Ein Handbuch und Studien-Reiseführer zum Heiligen Land II. Zürich 1982.
Keel O/Küchler M/Uehlinger C, Orte und Landschaften der Bibel. Ein Handbuch und Studien-Reiseführer zum Heiligen Land I. Zürich 1984.
Keel O/Schroer S, Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel I (OBO 67). Fribourg/Göttingen 1985.
Keel O/Shuval M/Uehlinger C, Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel III (OBO 100). Fribourg/Göttingen 1990.
Keel O/Uehlinger C, Altorientalische Miniaturkunst. Mainz 1990.
Keller O, Die antike Tierwelt. Hildesheim 1980.
Kelso J L, The Excavations of Bethel (1934-1960) (AASOR 39). Cambridge/Mass 1968.
Kenna V E G, Corpus of Cypriote antiquities 3. Catalogue of the Cypriote seals of the Bronze Age in the British Museum (Studies in mediterranean archaeology 20/3). Göteborg 1971.
Khlopina L I, Das Pferd in Vorderasien. OLoP 13 (1982) 5-24.
Kinet D, Ugarit - Geschichte und Kultur einer Stadt in der Umwelt des Alten Testaments (SBS 104). Stuttgart 1981.
King P J, Amos, Hosea, Micah: an archaeological commentary. Philadelphia 1988.
Kitchen K A, Interrelations of Egypt and Syria. La Siria nel tardo bronzo (Oriens antiqvi collectio 9) (ed Liverani M). Roma 1969,77-95.
Klengel H, Geschichte und Kultur Altsyriens. Heidelberg 1965a.
--- Der Wettergot von Halab. JCS 19 (1965b) 87-93.
--- Geschichte Syriens im 2. Jahrtausend v u Z II. Mittel- und Südsyrien (Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Institut für Orientforschung 70). Berlin 1969.
Klengel H (ed), Kulturgeschichte des alten Vorderasien. Berlin 1989.
Klingbeil M G, Syro-Palestinian stamp seals from the Persian period: the iconographic evidence. JNWSL 18 (1992) 95-124.
Kloos K, Yhwh's combat with the sea. A Canaanite tradition in the religion of ancient Israel. Amsterdam/Leiden 1986.

Koch K, Studien zur alttestamentlichen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte. Göttingen 1988.
Koefoed-Petersen O, Catalogue generale. Copenhagen 1948.
--- Khenti-Khèti, dieu chtonien. RdE 27 (1975) 134-136.
Koehler L/Baumgartner W, Hebräisches und aramäisches Lexikon zum Alten Testament III. Leiden 1983[3].
Kohlmeyer K/Strommeyer E (ed), Land des Baal. Syrien-Forum der Völker und Kulturen. Mainz 1982.
Korpel A, A rift in the clouds. Ugaritic descriptions of the divine. Neukirchen-Vluyn 1992.
Krauspe R, Ägyptisches Museum der Karl-Marx-Universität Leipzig. Leipzig 1976[2].
Kruger P A, On non-verbal communication in the Baal epic. Journal for Semitics 1/1 (1989) 54-69.
KTU = Dietrich M/Loretz O/Sanmartín J, Die keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit I: Transkription (AOAT 24/1). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1976.
Kühne C, Mit Glossenkeilen markierte fremde Wörter in akkadischen Ugarittexten II. UF 7 (1975) 253-260.
Kühne H, Das Rollsiegel in Syrien. Zur Steinschneidekunst in Syrien zwischen 3300 und 330 vor Christus. Tübingen 1980.
Kühnert-Eggebrecht E, Die Axt als Waffe und Werkzeug im alten Ägypten (MÄSt 15). Berlin 1969.
Kuhlmann K P, Der Thron im alten Ägypten. Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe 10). Glückstadt 1977.
Kupper J-R, L'iconographie de dieu Amurru dans la glyptique de la I[re] dynastie babylonienne (Mémoires de l'académie royale de Belgique 55/1). Brussels 1961.
Lambert W G, Trees, snakes and gods in ancient Syria and Anatolia. BSOAS 48 (1985) 435-451.
Lanczkowski G, Begegnung und Wandel der Religionen. Düsseldorf 1971.
Langdon S, Excavations at Kish I. Paris 1924.
Lanzone R V, Dizionario di mitologia egiziana I-V. Torino 1883-1886.
Lapp P W, The 1968 excavations at Tell Taʿannek. BASOR 195 (1969) 2-49.
LdÄ = Lexikon der Ägyptologie I-VI (ed Helck W et al). Wiesbaden 1970-1986.
Leclant J, Astarté à cheval d'après les représentations égyptiennes. Syria 37 (1960) 1-67.
--- Montouemhat. Cairo 1961.
--- Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan. Or. 35 (1966) 127-178.
Leclant J (ed), Ägypten III. Spätzeit und Hellenismus. München 1981.
Leibovitch J, Quelques nouvelles représentations du dieu Réchef. ASAE 39 (1939) 145-160.
--- Un fragment de stèle dédiée à Rechef. ASAE 40 (1941) 489-492.
--- Une imitation d'époque gréco-romaine d'une stèle de la déesse Qadech. ASAE 41 (1942a) 77-86.
--- Review of Grdseloff 1942. ASAE 41 (1942b) 437-442.
--- Une plaquette de la XXII[e] dynastie apparterant à la collection de sa majesté le

roi Farouk I^er^. ASAE 43 (1943) 67-73.
--- Une statuette du dieu Seth. ASAE 44 (1944a) 101-107.
--- Amon-Raʿ, Rechef et Houron sur une stèle. ASAE 44 (1944b) 163-172.
--- Un nouveau dieu égypto-cananéen. ASAE 48 (1948) 435-444.
--- Le problème des Hyksos et celui de l'exode. IEJ 3 (1953) 99-112.
--- Kent et Qadech. Syria 38 (1961) 23-34.
Lemche N P, Ancient Israel. A new history of Israelite society. Sheffield 1988.
Lepsius R, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien I-XII. Berlin 1849-1858 (Osnabrück 1969 reprint).
Lessing E (ed), Die Bibel. Das Alte in Bildern erzählt. München 1987.
Letellier B, Autor de la stèle de Qadech: une famille de Deir el-Médineh. RdE 27 (1975) 150-163.
Liebowitz H A, Horses in New Kingdom art and the date of an ivory from Megiddo. JARCE 6 (1967) 129-134.
--- The impact of the art of Egypt on the art of Syria and Palestine. Immortal Egypt (ed Schmandt-Besserat D). Malibu 1978, 27-36.
Lipiński E, Review of Fulco 1976. IEJ 29 (1979) 259-260.
--- Resheph Amyklos. Phoenicia and the East Mediterranean in the first millenium B C (Studia Phoenicia 5). Leuven 1987, 87-99.
Littauer M A/Crouwel J H, Wheeled vehicles and ridden animals in the ancient Near East (HO 7/1/2B1). Leiden 1979.
van Loon M N, Anatolia in the second millennium B C (IoR 15/12). Leiden 1985.
Loretz O, Ugarit und die Bibel. Kanaanäische Götter und Religion im Alten Testament. Darmstadt 1990.
Loud G, Megiddo II. Seasons of 1935-1939 I-II (OIP 62). Chicago 1948.
Loukianoff G, Stèle du pharaon Séti I^er^ trouvée a Tell-Nebi-Mendou en Syrie. AEg 9 (1924) 101-108.
Lucas A/Harris J R, Ancient Egyptian materials and industries. London 1962^4.
Lutz H L F, Concerning the possible Egypto-Lybian background of Nergal. JAOS 72 (1952) 30-35.
Macalister R A S, The excavation of Gezer. 1902-1905 and 1907-1909. London 1912.
Mackenzie D, Excavations at Ain Shems, April to July 1912. PEFA 2 (1912-1913) 1-100.
Maier W A III, ʿAšerah: extrabiblical evidence (HSM 37). Atlanta 1986.
Mallon A, Les fouilles americaines de Beisan. Bib. 9 (1928) 245-256.
Manniche L, Music and musicians in ancient Egypt. London 1991.
Margalit B, A matter of "life" and "death". A study of the Baal-Mot epic (CTA 4-5-6) (AOAT 206). Neukirchen/Vluyn 1980.
--- KTU 1.92 (Obv): a Ugaritic theophagy. Aula Orientalis 7 (1989) 67-80.
Mariette A, Stèle de l'an 400. RAr 11 (1865) 169-190.
--- Karnak. Étude topographique et archéologique. Leipzig 1875.
--- Catalogue géneral des monuments d'Abydos découvertes pendant les fouilles de cette ville III. Paris 1880.
Markoe G E, The emergence of Phoenician art. BASOR 279 (1990) 13-26.
Maspero G, Notes de voyage. ASAE 10 (1910) 131-144.

Matouk F S, Corpus du scarabée égyptien I-II. Beyrouth 1971/1977.
Matthiae P, Ars Syria. Contributi alla storia dell'arte figurativa siriana nell'età del medio e tardo bronzo. Rome 1962.
--- Note sul dio siriano Rešef. OrAnt 2 (1963) 27-43.
--- Empreintes d'un cylindre paléosyrien de Tell Mardikh. Syria 46 (1969) 1-43.
May H G, Material remains of the Megiddo cult (OIP 26). Chicago 1935.
Mazar A, The temples of Tell Qasile. The excavation and their implications for the study of the cult and material culture in Eretz-Israel during the 12th-10th centuries B C (Hebrew) (Dissertation Hebrew University). 1977.
--- Cylinder seals of the Middle and Late Bronze ages in Eretz-Israel (Hebrew). Qadmoniot 11/1 (1978) 6-13.
--- Excavations at Tell Qasile I. The Philistine sanctuary: architecture and cult objects (Qedem 12). Jerusalem 1980.
--- Pottery plaques depicting goddesses standing in temple facades. Michmanim 2 (1985) 5-18.
Mazar B, The excavations at Tell Qasile. Preliminary report. Jerusalem 1951.
--- A Philistine seal from Tel Qasile (Hebrew). BIES 31 (1967) 64-67.
McClennan T L, Chronology of the "Philistine" burials at Tell-el-Farʿah (South). Journal of Field Archaeology 6 (1979) 57-73.
McCown C C, Tell en-Naṣbeh. Excavated under the direction of the late William Frederic Badè I. Archaeological and historical results. Berkeley/New Haven 1947.
McEwan C/Kantor H J, Soundings at Tell Fakharijah (OIP 79). Chicago 1958.
Ménant J, Collection de Clercq. Catalogue méthodique et raisonné I. Cylindres orientaux. Paris 1888.
Mercer S A B, Astarté in Egypt. Egyptian religion 3 (1935) 192-203.
Compte du Mesnil du Buisson R, Le sautier d'Atargatis et la chaine d'amulettes. Paris 1947.
--- Pages de mythologie syrienne. Le décor des deux cuves de Tell Mardikh. RSO 42 (1967) 343-360.
--- Ashtart cavalière et armée dans le mythe de la planète Vénus. MUSJ 45 (1969) 523-538.
--- Nouvelles études sur les dieux et les mythes de Canaan. Leiden 1973.
Mettinger T N D, Yhwh Sabaoth - the heavenly king on the cherubim throne. Studies in the period of David and Solomon and other essays (ed Ishida T). Tokyo 1982, 109-138.
Metzger M, Königsthron und Gottesthron. Thronformen und Throndarstellungen in Ägypten und im Vorderen Orient im dritten und zweiten Jahrtausend v Chr und deren Bedeutung für das Verständnis von Aussagen über den Thron im Alten Testament (AOAT 15). Kevelaer/Neukirchen-Vluyn. 1985.
de Meulenaere H, Over vier egyptische bronzen beeldjes uit de Saitische tijd. OMRM 30 (1949) 10-15.
--- De cultus van Resjef in Egypte (Handelingen van het Eenentwintigste Vlaams Filologencongress). Leuven 1955.
Meyer E, Über einige semitische Götter. ZDMG 31 (1877) 716-741.

Michalowski K, Art of ancient Egypt. New York.
Millard A R/ Bordreuil P, A statue from Syria with Assyrian and Aramaic inscriptions. BA 45 (1982) 135-141.
Miller P D, Animal names as designations in Ugaritic and Hebrew. UF 2 (1970) 177-186.
--- The divine warrior in early Israel. Cambridge 1973.
Mogensen M, La collection égyptienne de la glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg. Copenhagen 1930.
Monnet Saleh J, Les antiquités égyptiennes de Zagreb. Paris 1970.
Montet P, La stèle de l'an 400 retrouvée. Kêmi 4 (1931-1933) 191-215.
--- Les nouvelles fouilles de Tanis. Paris 1933.
--- Recensions. Kêmi 7 (1938) 180-185.
--- Le drame d'Avaris. Essai sur la penétration des Sémites en Egypte. Paris 1941.
--- Les énigmes de Tanis. Paris 1952.
--- Egypte en de bijbel. Nijkerk 1961.
de Moor J C, The Semitic pantheon of Ugarit. UF 2 (1970) 187-228.
--- The seasonal pattern in the Ugaritic myth of Baʿlu. According to the version of Ilimilku (AOAT 16). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971.
--- New year with Canaanites and Israelites I-II. Kampen 1972.
--- An anthology of religious texts from Ugarit (Nisaba 16). Leiden 1987.
--- The rise of Yahwism. The roots of Israelite monotheism (BEThL 91). Leuven 1990.
de Moor J C/Mulder M J, בַּעַל. Theologisches Wörterbuch I (ed Botterweck J/Ringgren H). Stuttgart 1973, 706-727.
Moore A C, Iconography of religions: an introduction. London 1976.
Moorey P R S, Pictorial evidence for the history of horse-riding in Iraq before the Kassite period. Iraq 32 (1970) 36-50.
--- Materials and manufacture in ancient Mesopotamia. The evidence of archaeology and art. Metals and metalwork, glazed materials and glass (British archaeological reports international series 237). Oxford 1985.
Moorey P R S/Fleming S, Problems in the study of the anthropomorphic metal statuary from Syro-Palestine before 330 B C. Levant 16 (1984) 67-90.
Moortgat A, Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst. Berlin 1940/1988[3].
--- Assyrische Glyptik des 12. Jahrhunderts. ZA 14 (1944) 23-44.
Moortgat-Correns U, Neue Anhaltspunkte zur zeitlichen Ordnung syrischer Glyptik. ZA 51 (1955) 88-101.
Moran L, Les lettres d'El-Amarna. Correspondance diplomatique du pharaon (translated by Collon D/Cazelles H). Paris 1987.
Morenz S, Ägyptische Religion. Stuttgart 1960.
Moret A, Monuments égyptiens du musée Calvet a Avignon. Recueil de travaux relatifs a la philologie et a l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes 35 (1913) 48-59.
Müller H W, Der Waffenfund von Balâṭa-Sichem und die Sichelschwert (Bayerische Akad Wiss Phil-hist Abh NF 97). München 1987.

Müller W M, Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern. Leipzig 1893.
--- Review of Clinst W et al, Führer durch das Königliche Antiquarium in München, 1901. OLZ 5/4 (1902) 147-149.
--- Egyptological researches I. New York 1906.
--- Semitisches-Ägyptisches. OLZ 11/9 (1908) 401-403.
Müller-Karpe H, Handbuch der Vorgeschichte IV. Bronzezeit. München 1980.
Müller-Winkler C, Die ägyptischen Objekt-Amulette (OBO series archaeologica 5). Fribourg/Göttingen 1987.
Müller-Wollermann R, Review of Schulman 1988. GöMisz 105 (1988) 67-76.
Mulder M J, Kanaänitische goden in het Oude Testament (Exegetica 4/4-5). Den Haag 1965.
--- Von Selden bis Schaeffer: Die Erforschung der kanaanäischen Götterwelt. UF 11 (1979) 655-671.
Muscarella O W, Ladders to heaven. Art treasures from lands of the Bible. Toronto 1981.
Nagel G, Seth dans la barque solaire. BIFAO 28 (1929) 33-40.
Nagel W, Der mesopotamische Streitwagen und seine Entwicklung im ostmediterranen Bereich. Berlin 1966.
Naville E, Bubastis (1887-1889). London 1891.
Negbi O, Dating some groups of Canaanite bronze figurines. PEQ 100 (1968) 45-55.
--- Metal figurines in Israel and the neighbouring lands (Hebrew). Qadmoniot 3/3 (11) (1970) 78-87.
--- Canaanite gods in metal. An archaeological study of ancient Syro-Palestinian figurines. Tel Aviv 1976.
Nelson H H et al (ed), Medinet Habu I. Earlier historical records of Ramses III (OIP 8). Chicago 1930.
--- Ramses III's temple within the great enclosure of Amon II. Reliefs and inscriptions at Karnak II (OIP 35). Chicago 1936.
Newberry P E, Ancient Egyptian scarabs: An introduction to the study of Egyptian seals and signet rings. London 1908.
Nibbi A, Some remarks on the god Amun. GöMisz 63 (1983) 53-63.
Niccacci A, Nuovi scarabei Hyksos. Studia hierosolymitana (Mélanges B Bagatti) I. Jerusalem 1976, 29-80.
--- Hyksos scarabs (Studium Biblicum Franciscanum Museum 2). Jerusalem 1980.
Norin S I L, Er spaltete das Meer. Die Auszugsüberlieferung in Psalmen und Kult des alten Israel (CB.OT 9). Gleerup 1977.
Nougayrol J, Cylindres-sceaux et empreintes de cylindres trouvés en Palestine au cours de fouilles regulières (BAH 33). Paris 1939.
--- Le palais royal d'Ugarit IV. Textes accadiens des archives sud (MRS 9). Paris 1956.
O'Connor M, Yahweh the donor. Aula Orientalis 6 (1988) 47-60.
Oldenburg U, The conflict between El and Baʿal in Canaanite religion. Leiden 1969.
Olyan S M, Asherah and the cult of Yahweh in Israel (SBLMS 34). Atlanta, Georgia 1988.

Opificius R, Syrische Glyptik der zweiten Hälfte des zweiten Jahrtausends. UF 1 (1969) 95-110.
von Oppenheim M, Tell Halaf. Une civilisation retrouvée en Mésopotamie. Paris 1939.
Orthmann W, Hethitische Götterbilder. Vorderasiatische Archäologie. Studien und Aufsätze Anton Moortgat (ed Bittel K et al). Berlin 1964, 221-229.
--- Untersuchungen zur späthethitischen Kunst (Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 8). Bonn 1971.
Orthmann W (ed), Der alte Orient (Propyläen Kunstgeschichte 14). Berlin 1975.
van der Osten H H, Ancient oriental seals in the collection of Mrs Agnes Baldwin Brett (OIP 37). Chicago 1936.
Owen D I, The "First" equestrian: an Ur III glyptic scene. Acta Sumerologica 13 (1991) 259-273.
Özgüç N, The Anatolian group of cylinder seal impressions from Kültepe (Türkh Tarih Yayinlarindan 5/22). Ankara 1965.
--- Gods and goddesses with identical attributes during the period of Old Assyrian trade colonies. Florilegium Anatolicum. Mélanges offerts à Emmanuel Laroche. Paris 1979, 277-289.
Özgüç T, Inandiktepe. An important cult centre in the Old Hittite period. Ankara 1988.
Panofsky E, Meaning in the visual arts. Harmondsworth 1983.
Parker B, Cylinder seals from Palestine. Iraq 11/1 (1949) 1-43.
Parrot A, Les fouilles de Mari. Première campagne (hiver 1933-1934). Rapport préliminaire. Syria 16 (1935) 117-140.
--- Acquisitions et inédits du musée du Louvre. Syria 29 (1952) 44-53.
--- Le musée du Louvre et la bible. Paris 1957.
Parrot A/Chébab M H /Moscati S, Die Phönizier. Die Entwicklung der phönizischen Kunst von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des dritten punischen Krieges. München 1977.
Petrie W M F, Tell el-Amarna. London 1894.
--- Six temples at Thebes 1896. London 1897.
--- Hyksos and Israelite cities (British school of archaeology in Egypt 12). London 1906.
--- Handbook of Egyptian anitiquities collected by Flinders Petrie, exhibited at University College. London 1915.
--- Scarabs and cylinders with names. Illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London (British school of archaeology in Egypt 29). London 1917.
--- Buttons and design scarabs. Illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London (British school of archaeology in Egypt 38). London 1925.
--- Gerar (British school of archaeology in Egypt 43). London 1928.
--- Beth-Pelet; Tell Fara I (British school of archaeology in Egypt 48). London 1930.
--- Ancient Gaza I-IV (British school of archaeology in Egypt 53-56). London 1931-1934.
Petrie W M F et al, Memphis I-IV. London 1909-1913.

Petrie W M F et al, Tanis II. Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes). London 1888.
Pettinato G, Pre-Ugaritic documentation of Baʿal. The Bible world. Essays in honor of Cyrus H Gordon (ed Rendsburg G et al). New York 1980.
--- The archives of Ebla. An empire inscribed in clay. Garden City, New York 1981.
Pézard M, Mission archéologique a Tell Nebi Mend (1921). Syria 3 (1922) 89-115.
Piankoff A/Rambova N, Mythological papyri I-II (Bollingen series 40/3). New York 1957.
Pietschmann R, Geschichte der Phönizier. Berlin 1889.
PM = Porter B/Moss R L B, Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings I-VII. Oxford 1927ff.
Pope M H, El in the Ugaritic texts (VTS 2). Leiden 1955.
--- The saltier of Atargatis reconsidered. Near Eastern archaeology in the twentieth century. Essays in honor of Nelson Glueck (ed Sanders J A). New York 1970, 178-196.
--- The scene on the drinking mug from Ugarit. Near Eastern studies in honor of William Foxwell Albright (ed Goedicke H). Baltimore 1971, 393-405.
--- Song of songs (AncB). New York 1977.
--- The status of El at Ugarit. UF 19 (1987) 219-230.
Porada E, Seal impressions of Nuzi (AASOR 24). New Haven 1947.
--- Corpus of ancient Near Eastern seals in North American collections. The collection of the Pierpont Morgan Library I-II (The Bollingen series 14). Washington 1948a.
--- The cylinder seals of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age. AJA 52 (1948b) 178-198.
--- Sumerian art in miniature. The legacy of Sumer (ed Schmandt-Besserat D). Malibu 1976, 107-194.
--- The cylinder seals found in Boeotia. AfO 28 (1982) 1-70.
--- The cylinder seal from Tell el-Dabʿa. AJA 88 (1984) 485-488.
--- Review of Keel O/Schroer S 1985. JAOS 109/2 (1989), 298-300.
Potratz J A H, Ein Symbolzeichen der altvorderasiatischen Kunst und seine Bedeutung. Anadolu Arastirmalari. Helmuth Theodor Bossert in hatirasina armağan. Istanbul 1965, 371-375.
Price H, A catalogue of the Egyptian antiquities in the possession of F G Hilton Price I. London 1897.
Prinz H, Altorientalische Symbolik. Berlin 1915.
Pritchard J B, Palestinian figurines in relation to certain goddesses known through literature (AOS 24). New York 1943.
--- Syrians as pictured in the paintings of the Theben tombs. BASOR 122 (1951) 36-41.
--- The ancient Near East in pictures. Relating to the Old Testament. Princeton 1954/1969b[2].
Pritchard J B (ed), Ancient Near Eastern texts. Relating to the Old Testament. Princeton 1969a[3].
--- The Times atlas of the Bible. London 1987.

Quaegebeur J, Textes bibliques et iconographie égyptienne. OLoP 20 (1989) 49-73.
Quibell J E, The Ramesseum. London 1898.
Randall-Maciver D/Woolley C L, Buhen I-II. Philadelphia 1911.
Rainey A F, Business agents at Ugarit. IEJ 13/4 (1963) 313-321.
Reicke B/Rost L (ed), Biblisch-historisches Handwörterbuch III. Göttingen 1966.
Reid B W, Illustrated catalogue of the Anthropological Museum, Marischal College, University of Aberdeen. Aberdeen 1912.
Reisner G A, Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du musée du Caire nos 12528-13595. Amulets II. Cairo 1958.
Reitler R, Kleinfunde aus Gaza II: Der kanaanitische Gott Rescheph. ZDPV 77 (1961) 87-92.
RlA = Reallexikon der Assyriologie I-VII. Berlin 1932ff.
Roeder G, Ägypter und Hethither (AO 20). Leipzig 1919.
--- Inschriften. Ägyptische Inschriften aus den staatlichen Museen zu Berlin I-II. Berlin 1924.
--- Ramses II. als Gott. Nach den Hildesheimer Denksteinen aus Horbêt. ZÄS 61 (1926) 57-67.
--- Ägyptische Bronzefiguren (Staatliche Museem zu Berlin. Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung 6). Berlin 1956.
Rostovtzeff M, Dieux et chevaux. Syria (1931) 48-57.
de Rouge E, Oeuvres diverses 2. (ed Maspero G) (Bibliothèque égyptologique 22). Paris 1908.
Rowe A, The Palestine expedition. Report of the 1928 season. The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. The Museum Journal March 1929 (1929) 37-74.
--- The topography and history of Beth-Shan. Philadelphia 1930.
--- A catalogue of Egyptian scarabs, scaraboids, seals and amulets in the Palestine archaeological museum. Cairo 1936.
--- The four Canaanite temples of Beth-Shan I. The temples and cult objects (Publications of the Palestine section of the museum of the University of Pennsylvania 2). Philadelphia 1940.
Rummel S (ed), Ras Shamra parallels III (AnOr 51). Rome 1981.
Saadé G, Ougarit. Métropole Cananéenne. Beirut 1979.
Sadek A I, Popular religion in Egypt during the New Kingdom (Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge 27). Hildesheim 1988.
Saller S, The excavations at Dominus Flevit (Mount Olivet, Jerusalem) II. The Jebusite burial place (PSBF Ma 13). Jerusalem 1964.
Sandars N K, The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the ancient Mediterranean. London 1978.
Sayce A H, The Phoenician inscriptions on the vase handles found at Jerusalem. PEFQSt 25 (1893) 240-242.
Schäfer H, Das Niederschlagen der Feinde. Zur Geschichte eines ägyptischen Sinnbildes. WZKM 54 (1957) 168-176.
--- Principles of Egyptian art (ed Brunner-Traut E, translated and edited by Baines J). Oxford 1974.
Schaeffer C F A, Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra (campagne du printemps 1929). Rapport sommaire. Syria 10 (1929) 285-297.

Schaeffer C F A, Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra. Deuxième campagne (printemps 1930). Rapport sommaire. Syria 12 (1931) 1-14.
--- Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra. Troisième campagne (printemps 1931). Rapport sommaire. Syria 13 (1932) 1-27.
--- Les fouilles de Minet el-Beida et de Ras Shamra. Quatrième campagne (printemps 1932). Rapport sommaire. Syria 14 (1933) 93-127.
--- La stèle du "Baʿal au foudre" de Ras Shamra (Museé du Louvre). Mon Piot 34 (1934) 1-18.
--- Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Sixième campagne (printemps 1934). Rapport sommaire. Syria 16 (1935) 141-176.
--- Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935). Rapport sommaire. Syria 17 (1936) 105-149.
--- Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937). Rapport sommaire. Syria 19 (1938) 193-255, 313-334.
--- The cuneiform texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit. London 1939 (Munich 1980 reprint).
--- Ugaritica II. Nouvelles études relatives aux decouvertes de Ras Shamra (MRS 5). Paris 1949.
--- Résumé des résultats de la XXIII[e] campagne de fouilles à Ras Shamra-Ugarit (automne 1960). AAAS 11-12 (1961-1962) 187-196.
--- Götter der Nord- und Inselvölker in Zypern. AfO 21 (1966a) 59-69.
--- Nouveaux témoignages du culte de El et de Baal à Ras Shamra-Ugarit et ailleurs en Syrie-Paléstine. Syria 43 (1966b) 1-19.
--- El, Elat et Asherat. Hommages a André Dupont-Sommer (ed Caquot A/Philonenko M). Paris 1971, 137-149.
Schaeffer C F A et al, Ugaritica III. Sceaux et cylindres hittites, épée gravée du cartouche de Mineptah, tablettes chypro-minoennes et autres découvertes nouvelles de Ras Shamra (MRS 8). Paris 1956.
--- Ugaritica V. Nouveaux textes Accadiens, Hourrites et Ugaritiques des archives et bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. Commentaires des textes historiques (première partie) (MRS 16). Paris 1968.
Schaeffer-Forrer C F A, Corpus des cylindres-sceaux de Ras Shamra-Ugarit et d'Enkomi-Alasia I (Editions Recherches sur les civilisations, "synthèse" 13). Paris 1983.
Schlobies H, Der akkadische Wettergott in Mesopotamien (MAOG 1/3). Leipzig 1945.
Schmidt W, Den aegyptiske samling von Ny Carlsberg glyptotek. Copenhagen 1908.
Schrader E, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament. Berlin 1903[3].
Schretter M K, Alter Orient und Hellas. Fragen der Beeinflussung griechischen Gedankengutes aus altorientalischen Quellen dargestellt an den Göttern Nergal, Rescheph, Apollon. Innsbruck 1974.
Schroer S, In Israel gab es Bilder. Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament (OBO 74). Fribourg/Göttingen 1987.
Schulman A R, Egyptian representations of horsemen and riding in the New Kingdom. JNES 16/4 (1957) 267-271.

--- The Egyptian chariotry: a reexamination. JARCE 2 (1963) 75-98.
--- Reshef on horseback? Newsletter of the society for the study of Egyptian antiquities 7/4 (1977) 13-17.
--- The winged Reshef. JARCE 16 (1979) 69-84.
--- Chariots, chariotry, and the Hyksos. Journal of the society for the study of Egyptian antiquities 10/2 (1980) 105-153.
--- Reshep times two. Studies in ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and Sudan. Essays in honor of Dows Dunham on the occasion of his 90th birthday, June 1, 1980 (ed Simpson W K/Davis W M). Boston 1981, 157-166.
--- A stela of Qudshu from Memphis. Bulletin of the Egyptological seminar 6 (1982) 81-91.
--- On the goddess plaque mould from Tel Qarnayim. Journal of the society for the study of Egyptian antiquities 14/3 (1984a) 74-80.
--- Reshep at Zagazig: a new document. Studien zu Sprache und Religion Ägyptens zu Ehren Wolfhart Westendorf II. Religion (ed Junge F). Göttingen 1984b, 855-865.
--- The cult statue "Reshep, he who hears prayers". Bulletin of the Eyptological Seminar 6 (1985) 89-106.
--- Ceremonial execution and public rewards. Some historical scenes on New Kingdom private stelae (OBO 75). Fribourg/Göttingen 1988.
Schumacher G, Tell el-Mutesellim. Bericht über die 1903 bis 1905 veranstalteten Ausgrabungen I. Leipzig 1908.
Schumacher I W, Der Gott Sopdu - Der Herr der Fremdländer (OBO 79). Fribourg/ Göttingen 1988.
Seeden H, The standing armed figurines in the Levant (Prähistorische Bronzefunde I/1). München 1980.
Seger J, Tomb offerings from Gezer (The Rockefeller museum catalogue no 94). Jerusalem 1972.
Seidl U, Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs. Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten (OBO 87). Fribourg/Göttingen 1989.
van Seters J, The Hyksos. A new investigation. New Haven/London 1966.
Sethe K, Der Denkstein mit dem Datum des Jahres 400 der Ära von Tanis. ZÄS 65 (1930) 85-89.
Seyrig H, Antiquités syriennes 86: Quelques cylindres syriens. Syria 40 (1963) 253-260.
Simpson W K, An Egyptian statuette of a Phoenician god. BMMA 10 (1951-1952) 182-187.
--- New light on the god Reshef. JAOS 73 (1953) 86-89.
--- Reshep in Egypt. Or. 29 (1960) 63-74.
--- Heka-nefer and the dynastic material from Toshka and Arminna. New Haven 1963.
Śliwa J, Egyptian scarabs, scaraboids and plaques from the Cracow collections. Cracow 1985.
--- Review of Giveon G/Kertesz T 1986. BiOr 45/5-6 (1988) 567-568.
--- Egyptian scarabs and magical gems from the collection of Constantine

Schmidt-Ciazynski. Cracow 1989.
Smith M S, The early history of god. Yahweh and the other deities in ancient Israel. San Francisco 1990.
Smith R H, Near Eastern forerunners of the striding Zeus. Archaeology 15 (1962) 176-183.
--- Un cylindre syrien représentant Baal. Syria 42 (1965) 253-260.
Smith W S, Interconnections in the ancient Near East. New Haven/London 1965.
Spalinger A, Review of Fulco 1976. JAOS 98 (1978) 515-517.
Spiegelberg W, Eine Ršp (רשף) Stele. ZA 13 (1898) 120-122.
--- Neue Rescheph-Darstellungen. OLZ 11 (1908) 529-532.
Spycket A, Les statues de culte dans les textes mésopotamiens des origines à la première dynastie de Babylone (CRB 9). Paris 1968.
Stadelmann R, Die 400-Jahr Stele. CEg 40 (1965) 46-60.
--- Syrisch-palästinensische Gottheiten in Ägypten (PÄ 5). Leiden 1967.
Staehelin E, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Tracht im Alten Reich (MÄSt 8). Berlin 1966.
Stager L E, Ashkelon rediscovered. Washington 1991.
Starkey J L/Harding L, Beth-Pelet II (British school of archaeology in Egypt 52). London 1932.
Staubli T, Das Image der Nomaden im alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn (OBO 107). Fribourg/Göttingen 1991.
Steffen U, Drachenkampf. Der Mythos vom Bösen. Stuttgart 1984.
Steindorff G/Seele K C, When Egypt ruled the East. Chicago/London 1957.
Stewart H, Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie collection I. Warminster 1976.
Tadmor M, Female cult figurines in late Canaan and early Israel: Archaeological evidence. Studies in the period of David and Solomon and other essays (ed Ishida T). Tokyo 1982, 139-173.
--- The "cult standard" from Hazor in a new light. ErIs 20 (1989) 86-89.
Tasyürek O A, Darstellungen des urartäischen Gottes Haldi. Leiden 1978.
Teissier B, Ancient Near Eastern cylinder seals from the Marcopoli collection. Berkeley 1984.
Thimme J et al, Frühe Randkulturen des Mittelmeerraumes. Kykladen - Zypern - Malta - Altsyrien. Baden-Baden 1980.
Thomas D W (ed), Archaeology and Old Testament study. Oxford 1967.
Thompson H O, Mekal. The god of Beth-Shan. Leiden 1970.
Thomsen P, Palästina und seine Kultur in fünf Jahrtausenden. Nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen und Forschungen dargestellt (AO 30). Leipzig 1931-1933.
Toombs L E, Baal, lord of the earth: the Ugaritic Baal epic. The word of the Lord shall go forth. Essays in honor of D N Freedman (ed Meyers C/O'Connor M) (American Schools of Oriental research special volume series 1). Winona Lake 1983, 613-623.
Tosi M/Roccati A, Stele e altere epigraffi di Deir el Medina. Turin 1972.
Towers J R, A Syrian god and Amen-Raʿ? AEg 16 (1931) 75-76.
TRE = Theologische Realenzyklopädie XVIII. Berlin/New York 1988.

Trigger B, Nubia under the pharaohs. London 1976.
Tuffnell O/Inge C H/Harding L, Lachish II (Tell ed-Duweir). The Fosse temple. London 1940.
--- Lachish III (Tel ed-Duweir). The Iron Age I-II. London 1953.
Uehlinger C, Leviathan und die Schiffe in Ps 104,25-26. Bib. 71/4 (1990) 499-526.
--- Der Mythos vom Drachenkampf: von Sumer nach Nicaragua. Religionsgeschichtliche und ikonographische Randnotizen. Ref. 39/3 (1991) 213-226.
Ussishkin D, Excavations at Tel Lachish 1973-1977. Preliminary report. Tel Aviv 5/1-2 (1978) 1-97.
Valbelle D, La tombe de Ḥay à Deir el-Médineh (MIFAO 95). Cairo 1975.
--- "Les ouvriers de la tombe". Deir el-Médineh à l'époque ramesside. Cairo 1985.
Vandier d'Abbadie J, Catalogue des ostraca figurés de Deir el-Médineh. Cairo 1936-1939.
Vandier J, Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne IV. Paris 1954.
--- Le dieu Seth au Nouvel Empire a propos d'une récente acquisition du Louvre. MDAI.K 25 (1969) 188-197.
Vanel A, L'iconographie du dieu de l'orage dans le Proche-Orient ancien jusqu'au VII^{e} siècle avant J-C (CRB 3). Paris 1965.
Vattioni F, Il dio Resheph. AION 15 (1965) 39-74.
te Velde H, Seth, god of confusion. A study of his role in Egyptian mythology and religion (PÄ 6). Leiden 1967/1977^{2}.
Vercoutter J, Excavations at Sai 1955-1957. A preliminary report. Kush 6 (1958) 144-169.
Vernus P, Athribis (BEt 74). Cairo 1978.
Vigneau A, Encyclopédie photographique de l'art I. Le musée du Louvre. Paris 1935.
Vincent L H, Le Baᶜal cananéen de Beisan et sa parèdre. RB 37 (1928) 512-543.
Virolleaud C, Le palais royal d'Ugarit. Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives est, ouest et centrales (MRS 7). Paris 1957.
de Vries L F, Incense altars from the period of the Judges and their significance (Dissertation Michigan). 1975.
Wakeman M K, God's battle with the monster. A study in biblical imagery. Leiden 1973.
Walters H, Catalogue of engraved gems and cameos in the British Museum. 1926 London.
Ward J, The sacred beetle. Egyptian scarabs in art and history. London 1902 (San Diego 1969 reprint).
Ward W A, Comparative studies in Egyptian and Ugaritic. JNES 20 (1961) 31-40.
Ward W H, The seal cylinders of Western Asia. Washington 1910.
Warmenbol E, La stèle de Ruǧm el-ᶜAbd (Louvre AO 5055). Une image de divinité moabite du IXème-VIIIème siècle av. n.è. Levant 15 (1983) 63-75.
Watson S J, Death and the nether world in ancient Egypt. An analysis of selected iconographic material (Unpublished MA thesis University of Stellenbosch). 1991.
Weber O, Altorientalische Siegelbilder I-II (AO 17-18). Leipzig 1920.
Weigall A E P, A report on the antiquities of Lower Nubia. Oxford 1907.

Weigall A E P, A silver figure of a Cretan bull. JEA 4 (1917) 187.
von Weiher E, Der babylonische Gott Nergal (AOAT 11). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1971.
Wein J/Opificius R, 7000 Jahre Byblos. Nürnberg 1963.
Weinfeld M, Divine intervention in war in ancient Israel and in the ancient Near East. History, historiography and interpretation. Studies in Biblical and cuneiform literatures (ed Tadmor H/Weinfeld M). Leiden 1986, 121-147.
Weippert H, Palästina in vorhellenistischer Zeit (Handbuch der Archäologie. Vorderasien II/1). München 1988.
Weippert M, Gott und Stier. Bemerkungen zu einer Terrakotte aus Jāfa. ZDPV 77 (1961) 93-117.
--- Synkretismus und Monotheismus. Religionsinterne Konfliktbewältigung im alten Israel. Kultur und Konflikt (ed Assmann J/Harth D). Frankfurt 1990, 143-178.
Weippert H/Weippert M, Jericho in der Eisenzeit. ZDPV 92 (1976) 105-148.
Weiss H (ed), From Ebla to Damascus. Art and architecture of ancient Syria. Washington 1985.
Wiese A, Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten (OBO 96). Fribourg/Göttingen 1990.
Wiesner J, Fahren und Reiten in Alteuropa und im Alten Orient. Hildesheim/New York 1971.
van Wijngaarden W D, Karakter en voorstellingswijze van den god Resjef volgens de egyptische en vóór-aziatische monumenten. OMRM 10 (1929) 28-42.
Wild H, La tombe de Néfer-Ḥotep (I) et Neb-Néfer à Deir el Médîna (No 6) et autres documents les concernant (MIFAO 103/2). Cairo 1979.
Wilkinson J G, The manners and customs of the ancient Egyptians I-III. London 1878[3].
Williams-Forte E, Ancient Near Eastern seals. A selection of stamp and cylinder seals from the collection of Mrs William H Moore. New York 1976.
--- The snake and the tree in the iconography and texts of Syria during the Bronze Age. Ancient seals and the Bible (ed Gorelick L/Williams-Forte E). Malibu 1983, 18-43.
Winter U, Frau und Göttin. Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt (OBO 53). Fribourg/Göttingen 1983/1987[2].
Wiseman D J/Forman W, Götter und Menschen im Rollsiegel Westasiens. Prag 1958.
de Wit C, Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne. Leiden 1951.
Wolf W, Die Bewaffnung des altägyptischen Heeres. Leipzig 1926.
Woolley L, Alalakh. An account of the excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, 1937-1949 (Reports of the research committee of the society of antiquaries of London 18). Oxford 1955.
Wreszinki W, Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte. Geneva 1988 (reprint of Leipzig 1923-1935 editions).
Wyatt N, The stela of the seated god from Ugarit. UF 15 (1983) 271-277.
Xella P, Le dieu Rashap à Ugarit. AAAS 29-30 (1979-1980) 29-30.
--- Review of Fulco 1976. RSF 9 (1981) 121-124.

--- D'Ugarit à la Phénicié: Sur les traces de Rashap, Horon, Eshmun. WO 29 (1988) 45-64.
--- Baal Hammon. Recherches sur l'identité et l'histoire d'un dieu phénico-punique (Collezione di Studi Fenici 32). Rome 1991.
Yadin Y, Goliath's javelin and the מנור ארגים. PEQ 87 (1955) 58-69.
--- Excavations at Hazor, 1958. IEJ (1959) 74-88.
--- The art of warfare in biblical lands. New York 1963.
--- Symbols of deities at Zinjirli, Carthage and Hazor. Near Eastern archaeology in the 20th century. Essays in honor of N Glueck (ed Sanders J A). New York 1970, 199-231.
--- Hazor. The head of all those kingdoms. Joshua 11:10 (The Schweich lectures of the British Academy 1970). London 1972.
--- Hazor. The rediscovery of a great citadel of the Bible. London 1975.
--- New gleanings on Resheph from Ugarit. Biblical and related studies presented to Samuel Iwry (ed Kort A/Morschauser S). Winona Lake 1985, 259-274.
Yadin Y et al, Hazor II-IV. Jerusalem 1960/1961.
Yon M/Gachet J, Une statuette du dieu El à Ugarit. Syria 66 (1989) 349.
Yoyotte J, Les stèles de Ramsès II à Tanis. Kêmi 11 (1950) 47-62.
Zandee J, Seth als Sturmgott. ZÄS 90 (1963) 144-156.
Zenger E, Die Sinaitheophanie. Untersuchungen zum jahwistischen und elohistischen Geschichtswerk. Würzburg 1971.
Ziffer I, At that time the Canaanites were in the land. Daily life in Canaan in the Middle Bronze Age 2, 2000-1550 B.C.E. Tel Aviv 1990.
van Zijl P J, Baal. A study of texts in connection with Baal in the Ugaritic epics (AOAT 10). Neukirchen-Vluyn 1972.

REFERENCE LISTS

A. CATALOGUE NUMBERS

The items are listed in the order in which they occur in the catalogue.

RR1	Strasbourg 1398	27
RR2	Hildesheim 1100	28
RR3	Leipzig 3619	29
RR4	Cairo JE 71816	29
RR5	Cairo JE 71815	30
RR6	Zaqaziq 368	31
RR7	OIC 10569	32
RR8	UC 14401	33
RR9	Brussels E. 5294	34
RR10	UC 14400	35
RR11	Aberdeen 1578	36
RR12	Memphis 2792	37
RR13	Cairo JT 15/11/21/1	38
RR14	Deir el-Medina 1	38
RR15	Leibovitch	39
RR16	Deir el-Medina 2	39
RR17	BM 263	40
RR18	Wilkinson	41
RR19(a)	Berlin 14462	42
RR19(b)	Turin 50067	42
RR20	Varielle	43
RR21	Cairo JE 70222	44
RR22	Compiègne	45
RR23	Cambridge EGA 3002.1943	45
RR24	Avignon A16	46
RR25	Deir el-Medina 3	48
RR26	BM 264	48
RR27	Tushka	49
RR28	Turin 50066	59
RR29	Louvre C86	61
RR30	BM 191	62
RR31	BM 355	64
RR32	Cairo JE 86123	64
RR33	Philadelphia E. 13620	65
RR34	Aswan 16	66
RR35	Berlin 19808	82
RR36	UC 14374	83
RR37	Karnak	84
RR38	Sai S. 108	84
RM1	Amarna	91
RM2	Louvre AO 22361	92
RM3	Louvre AO 22362	93
RM4	Rockefeller J. 951	93
RM5	Rockefeller 34.34123	94
RM6	Berlin 15394	94
RM7	IAA 74-219	95
RM8	YMCA 287B	95
RM9	Strasbourg 1477	96
RM10	Rockefeller 32.2672	96
RM11	Ashmolean 1890.119a	97
RM12	UC 38064	97
RM13	Minet el-Beida	98
RM14	Cairo CG 25063	98
RM15	Müller	99
RM16	Rockefeller J. 911	104
RM17	Tel Aviv 82	106
RM18	Hazorea 174	107
RM19	Fribourg SK 74	108
RM20	Athens 559	108
RM21	Byblos 7400	115
RM22	IAA 73-49	115

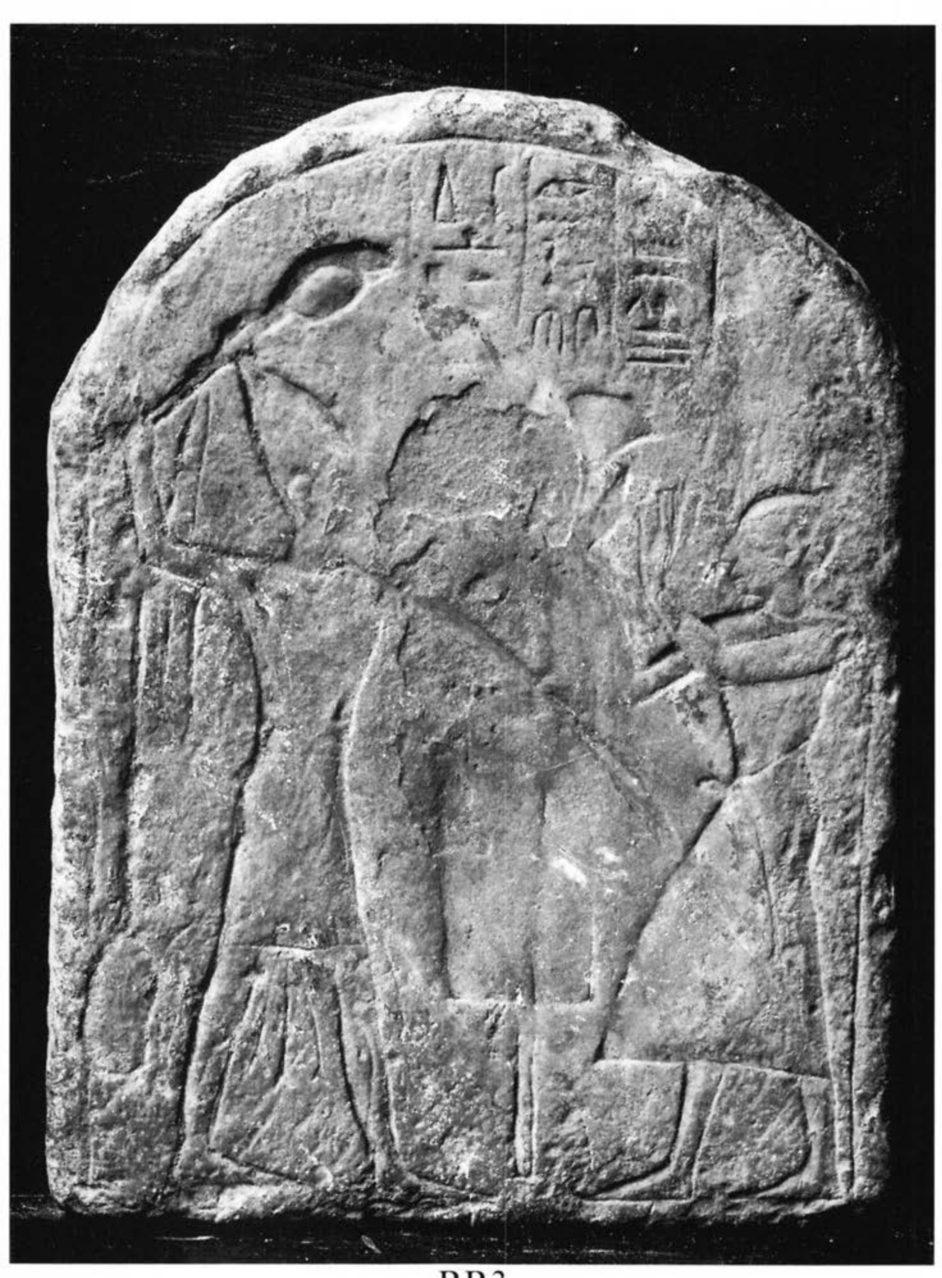
B. MUSEUM/COLLECTION NUMBERS

PLATES



RR1


RR2



RR3

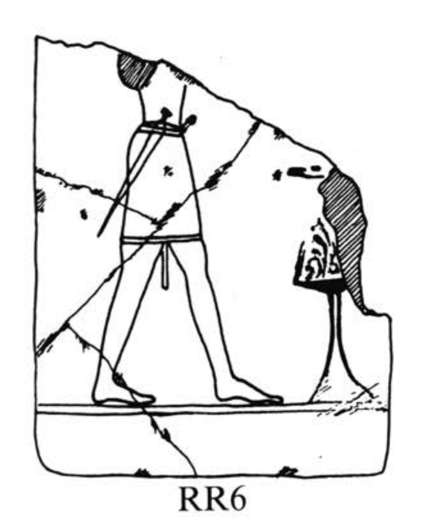


RR4

Pl. 4



RR5



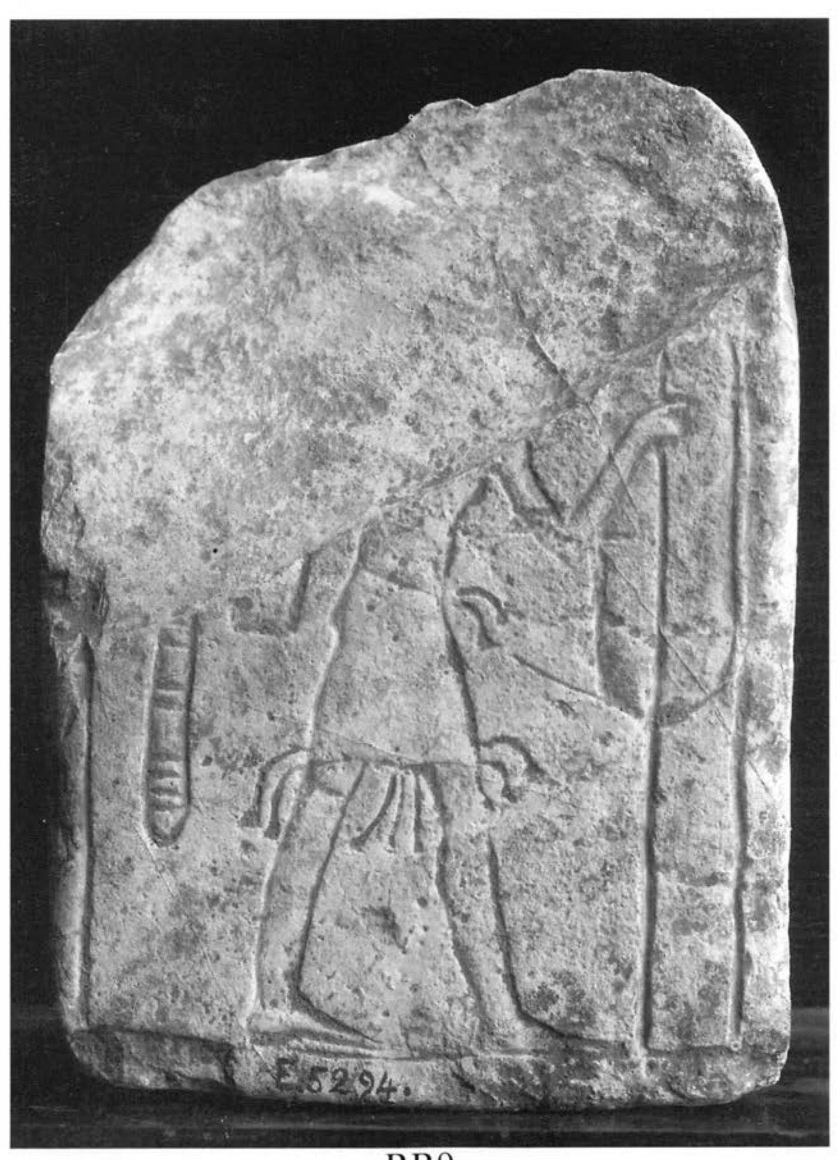
RR6



RR7



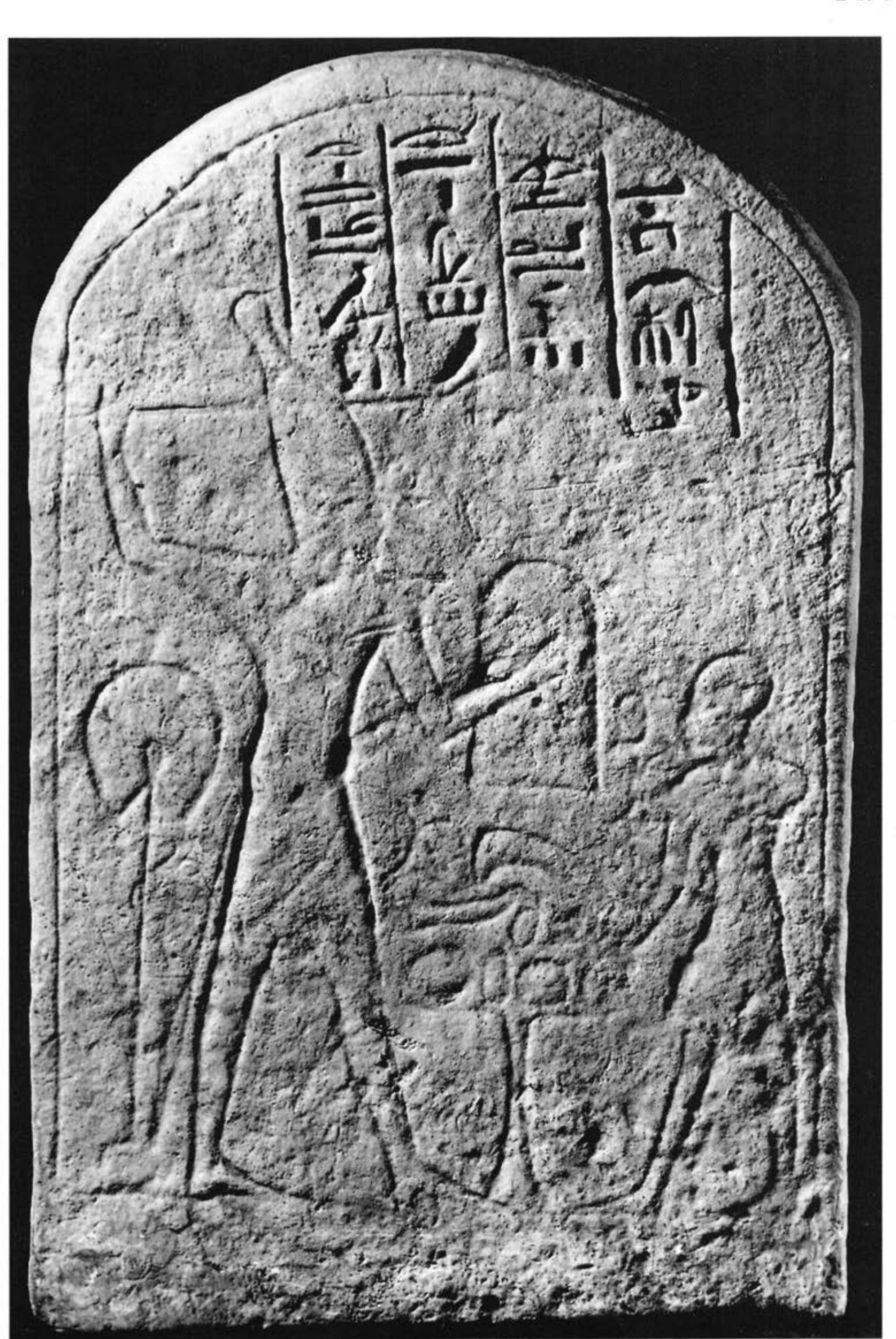
RR8



RR9



RR10



RR11



RR12



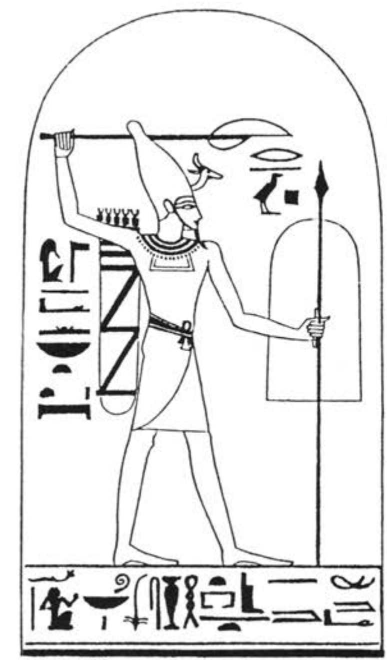
RR13



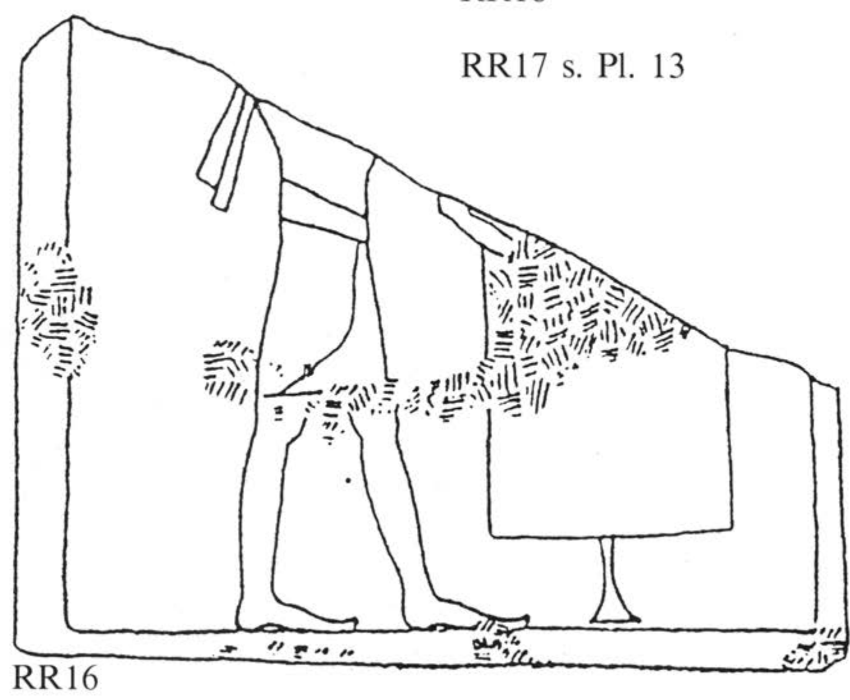
RR14

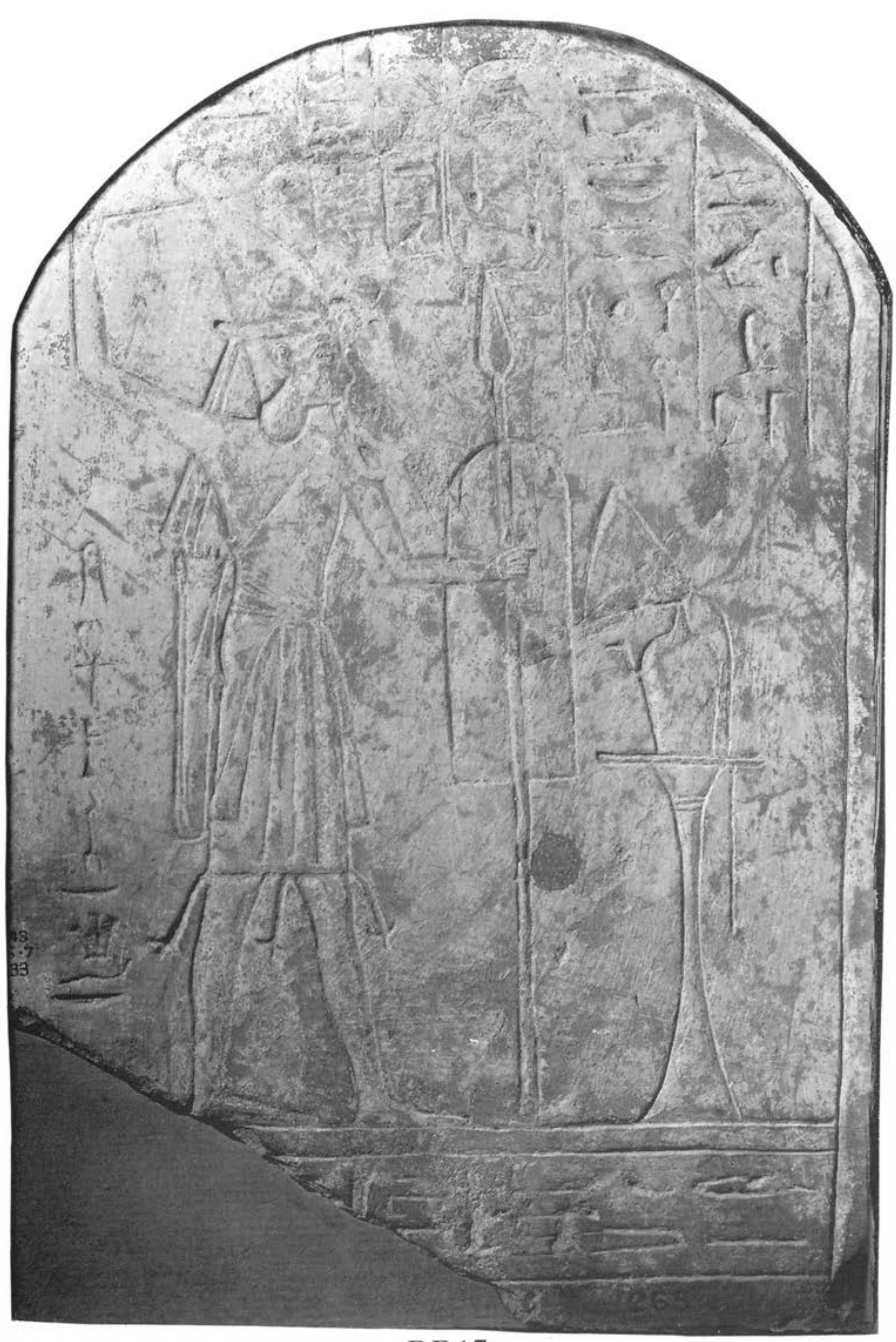
Pl. 12


RR15


RR18

RR17 s. Pl. 13


RR16



RR17

Pl. 14

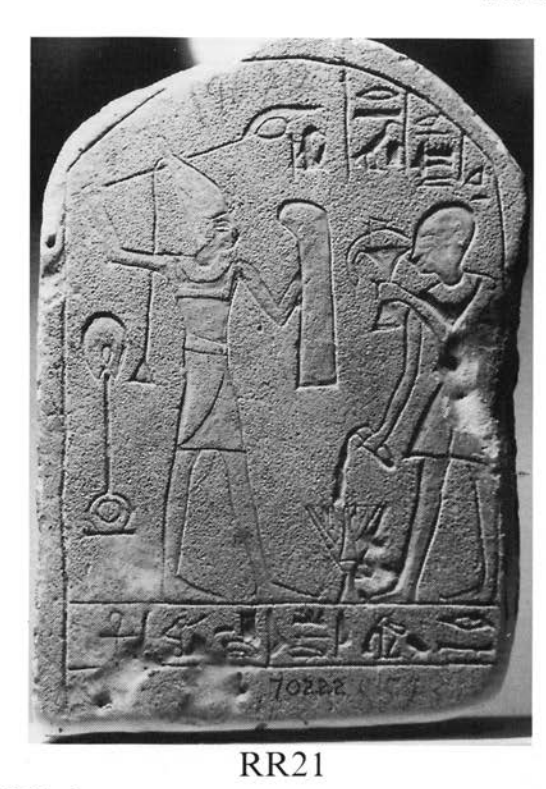


RR19a

RR19b



RR20

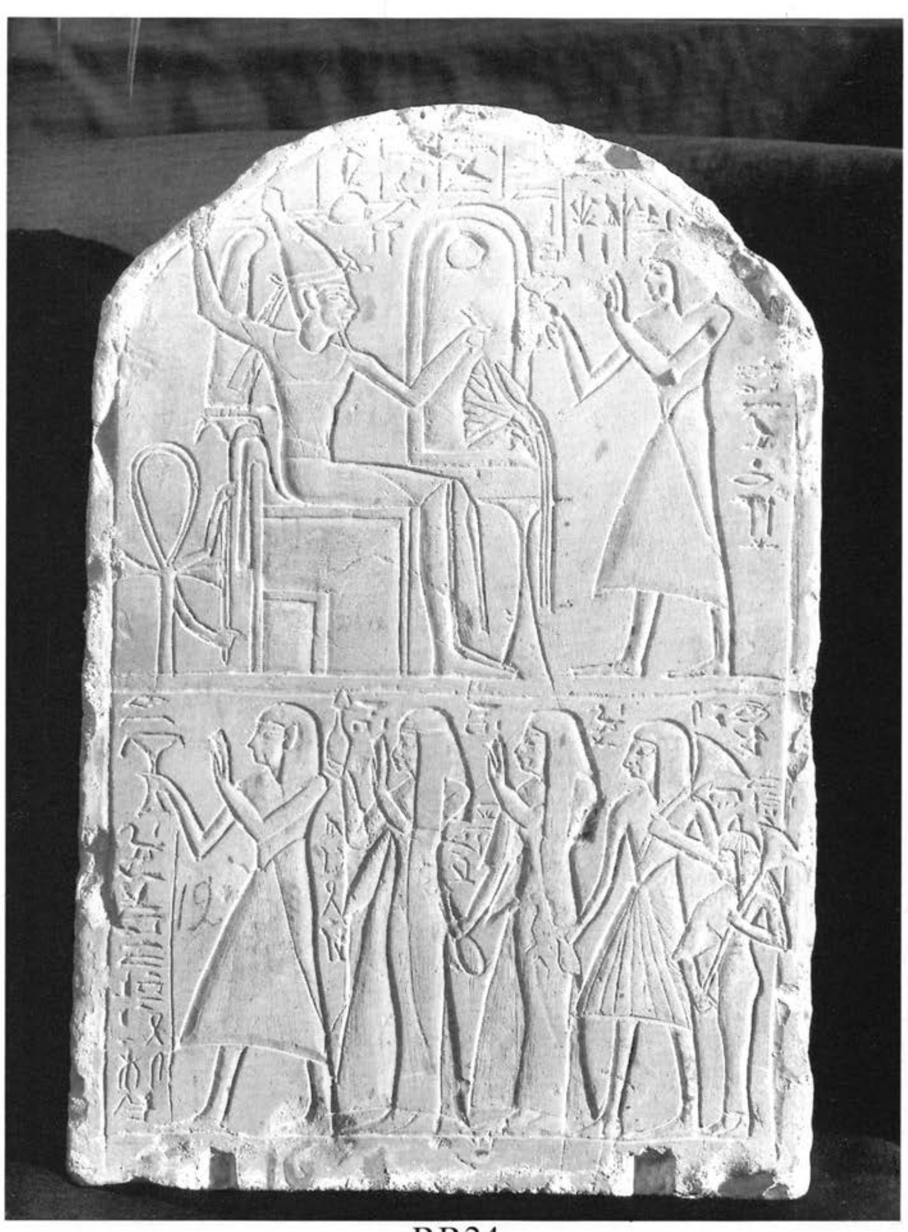


RR21

RR22



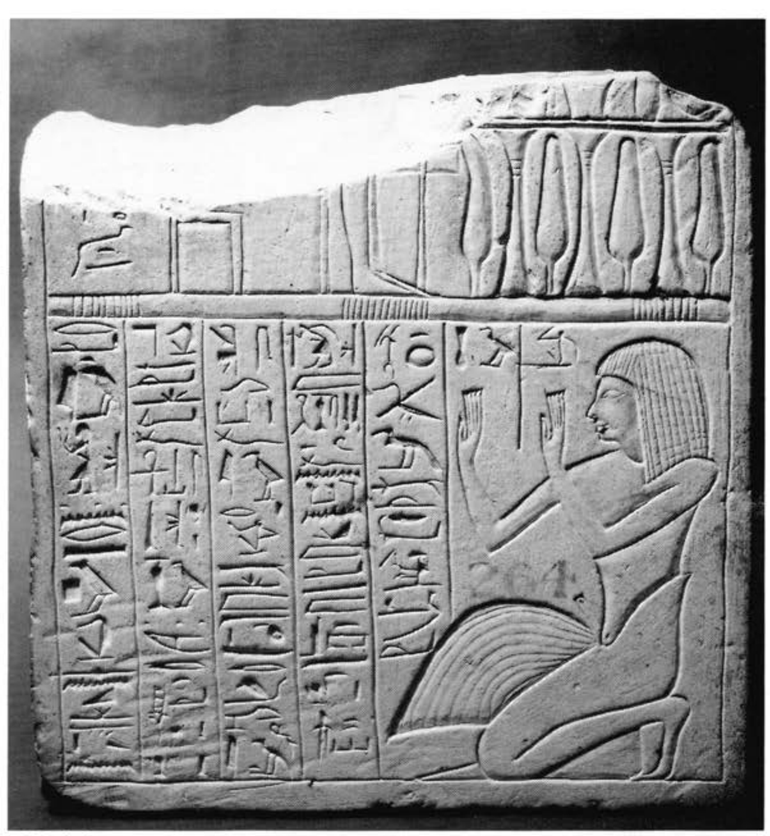
RR23



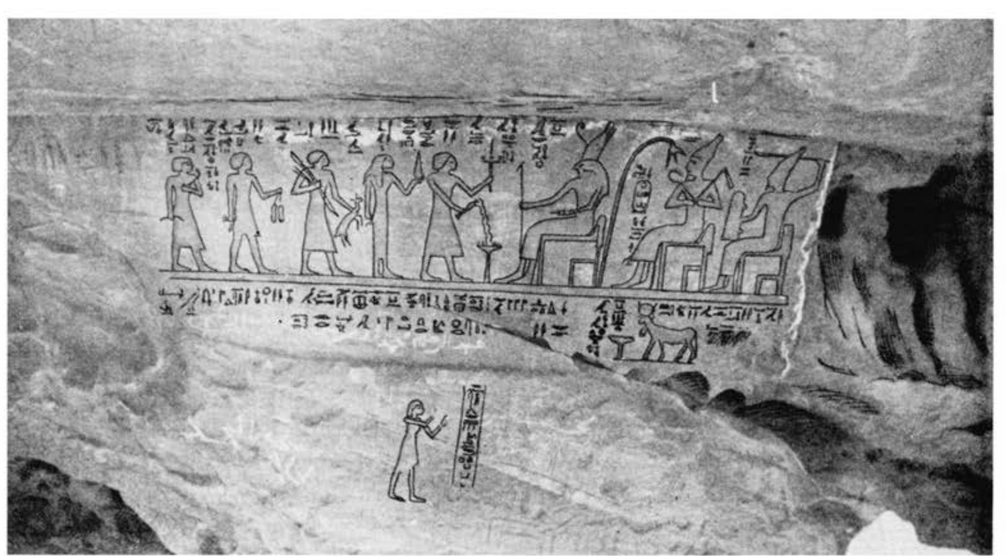
RR24



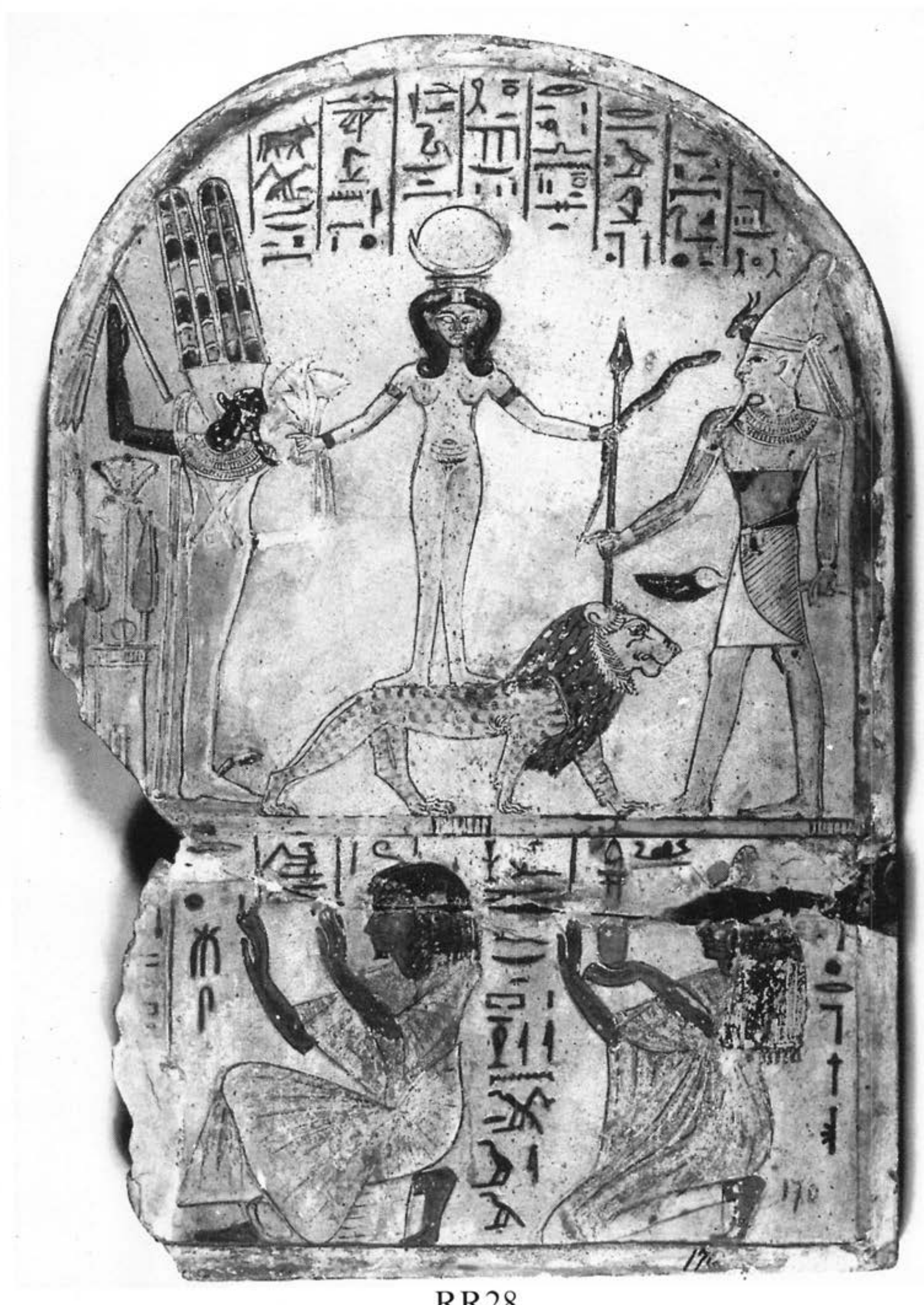
RR25



RR26



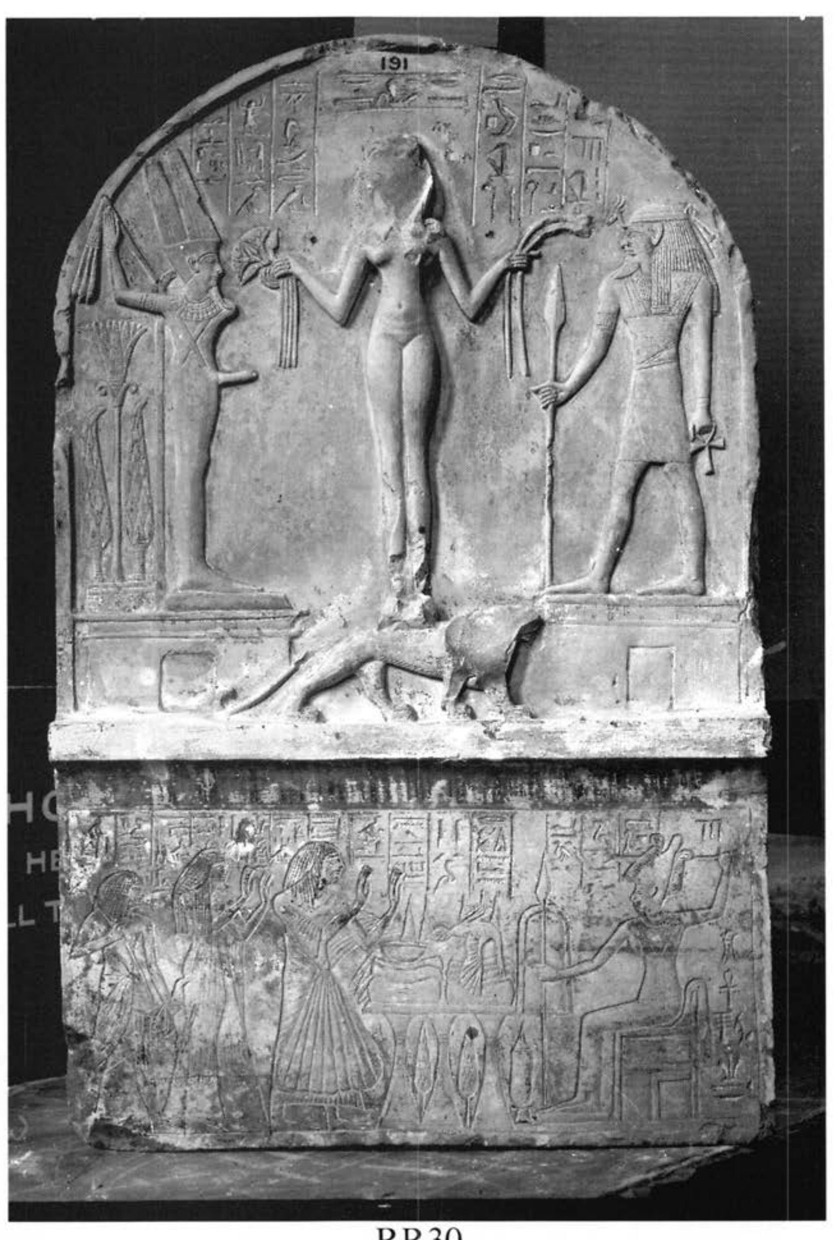
RR27



RR28



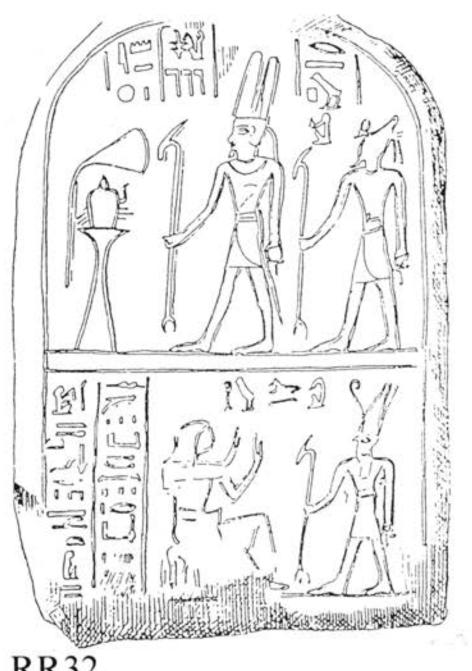
RR29



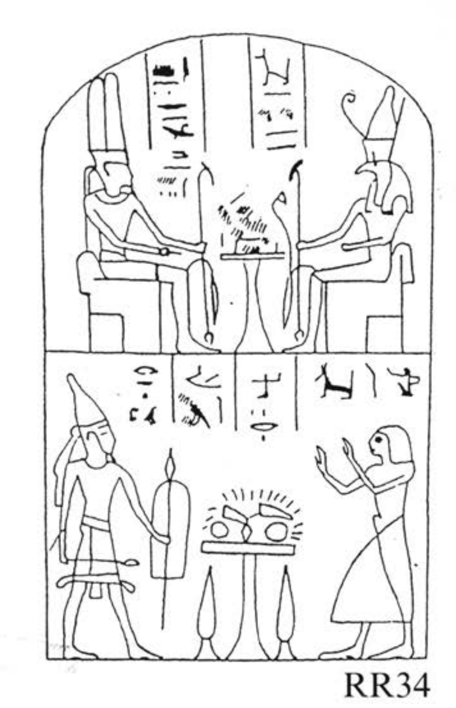
RR30



RR31



RR32



RR34

RR33 s. Pl. 25

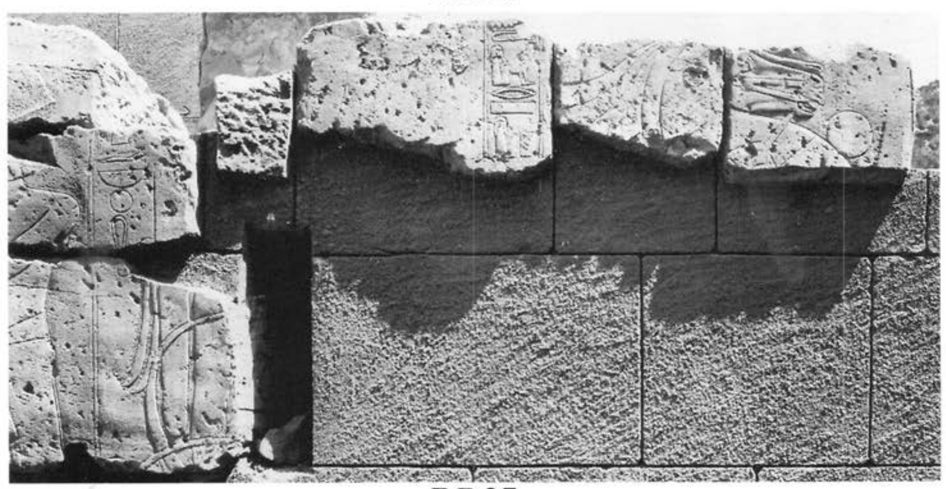


RR35



RR33

RR36

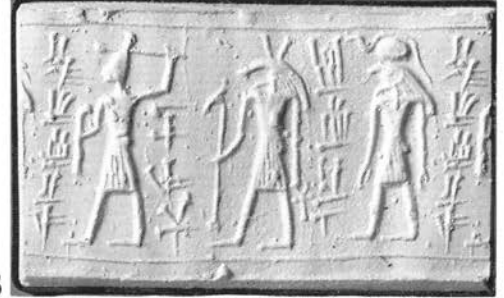


RR37

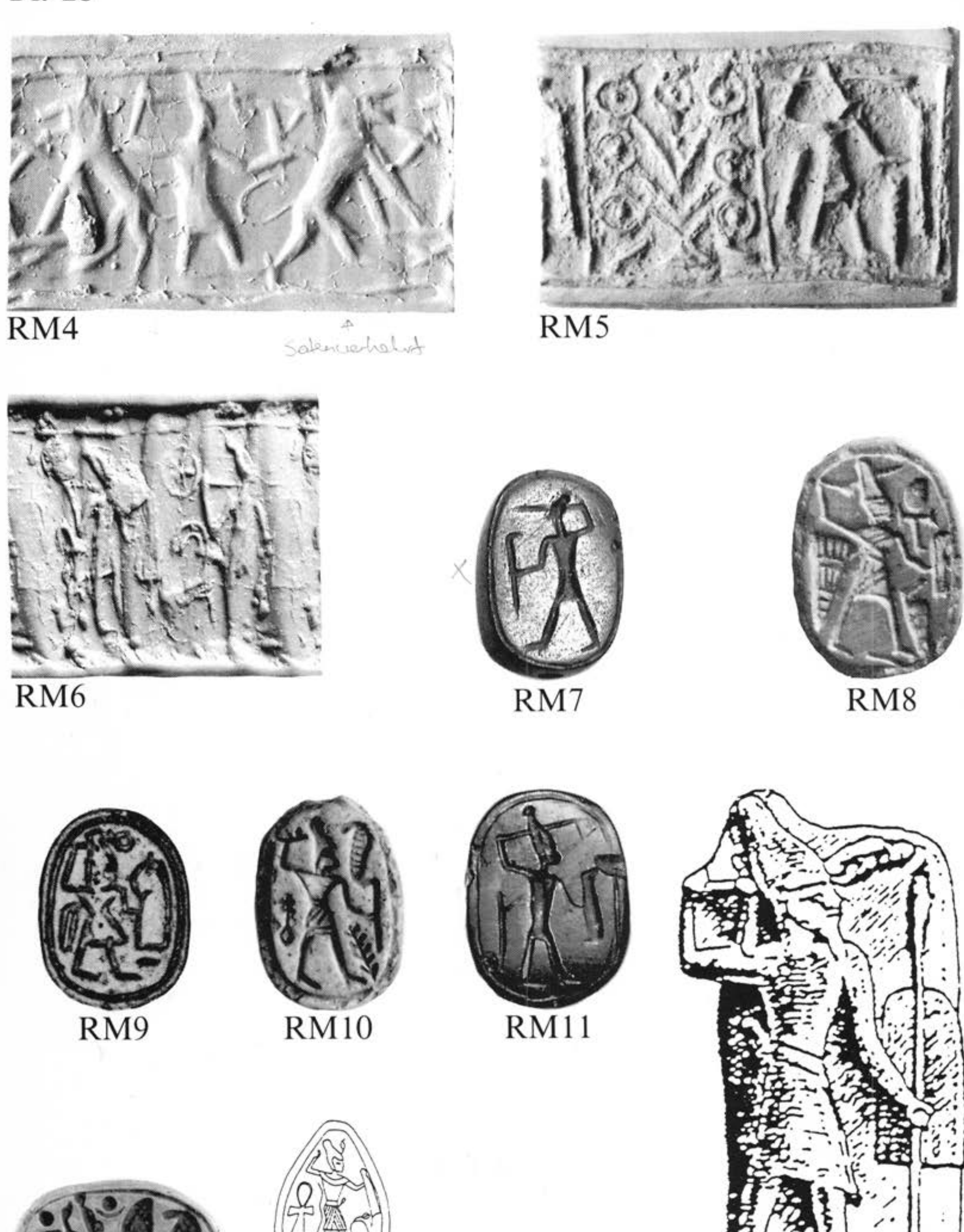
RR38

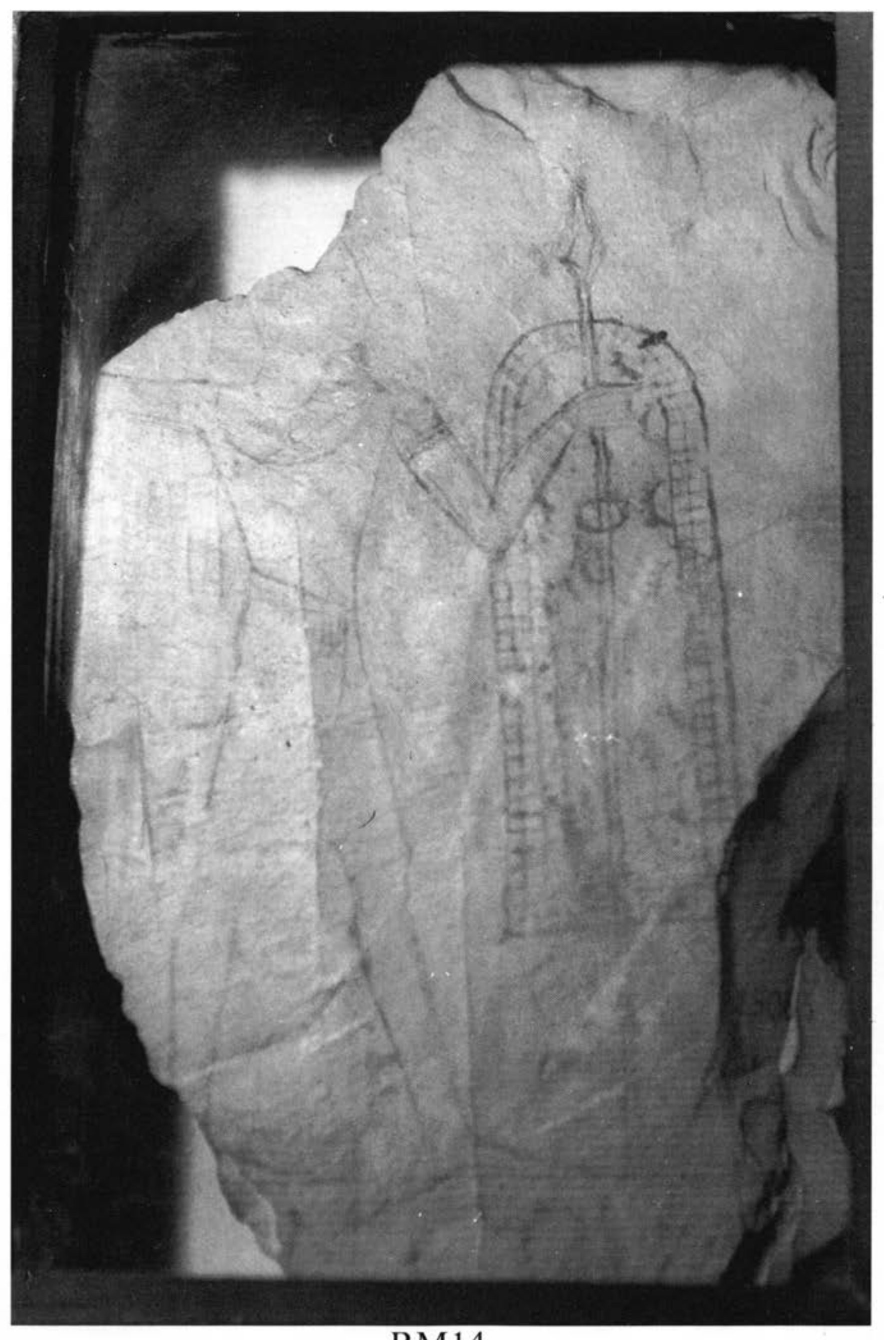

RM1


RM2


RM3

Pl. 28


RM4
Sekundärschnitt
RM5
RM6
RM7
RM8
RM9
RM10
RM11
RM12
RM13
RM15



RM14

Pl. 30



RM16





RM18



RM17



RM19



RM21

RM20

RM22



RM23



RM24

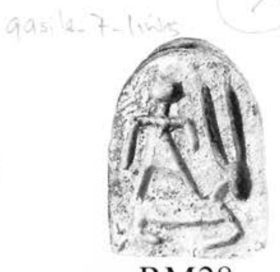


RM25

RM26



RM27



RM28



RM29


RM30


RM31


RM32


RM33


RM34


RM35


RM36


RM37


RM38

RM39

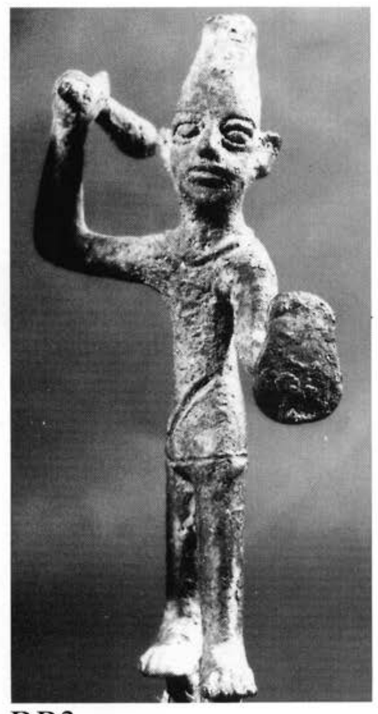

RM40



RB1

Pl. 32


RB2


RB3

BR1



BR2



BR4

BR3 s. Pl. 34



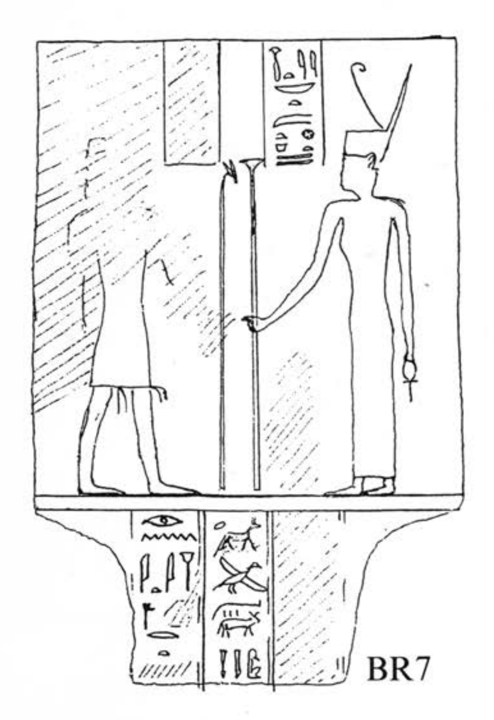
BR3



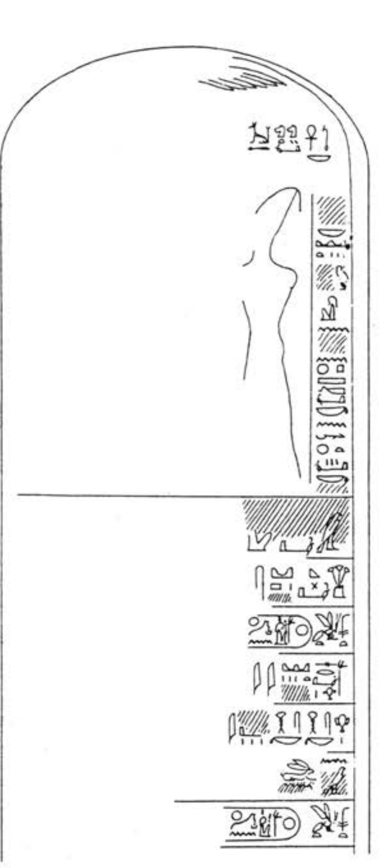
BR5



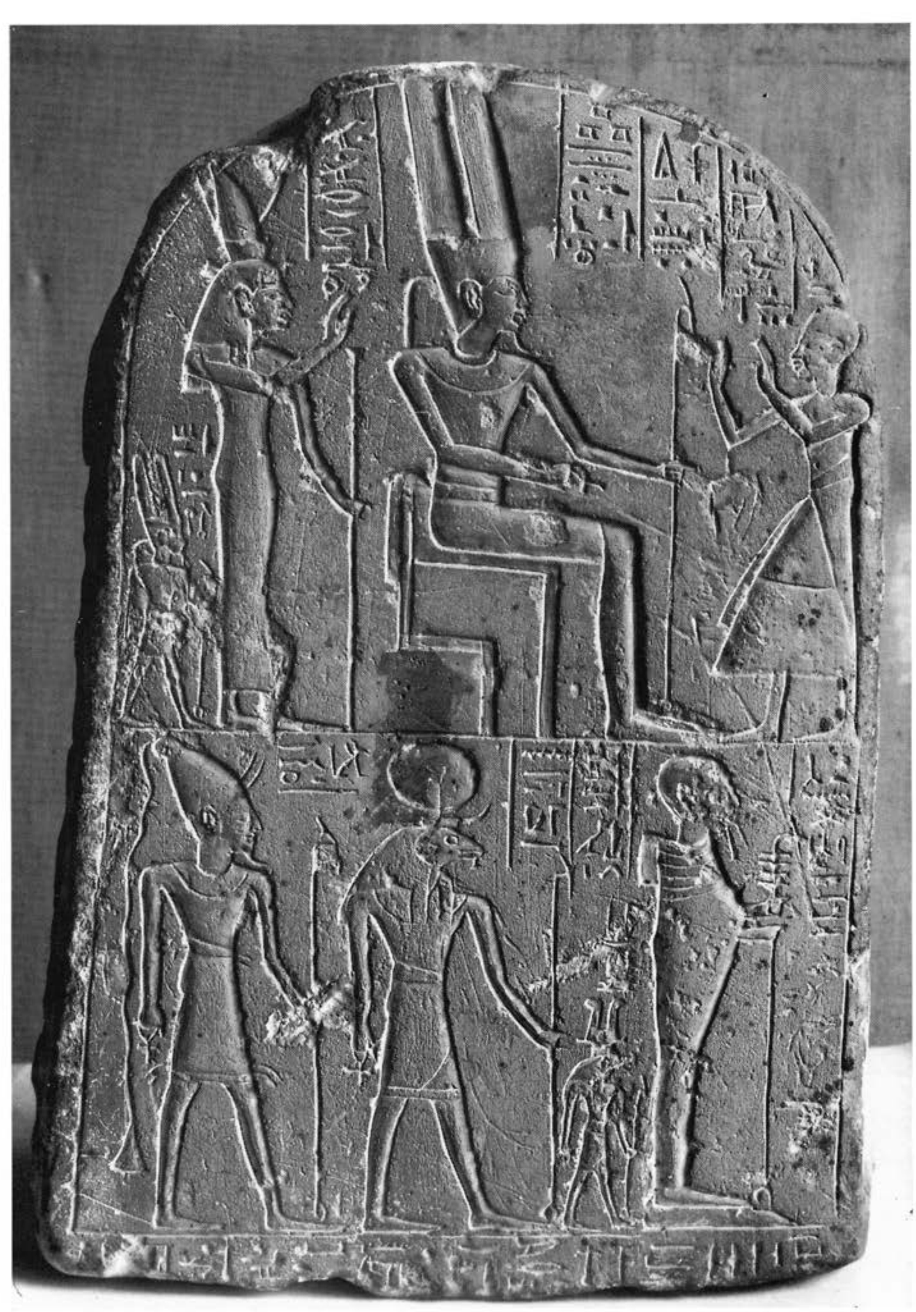
BR6



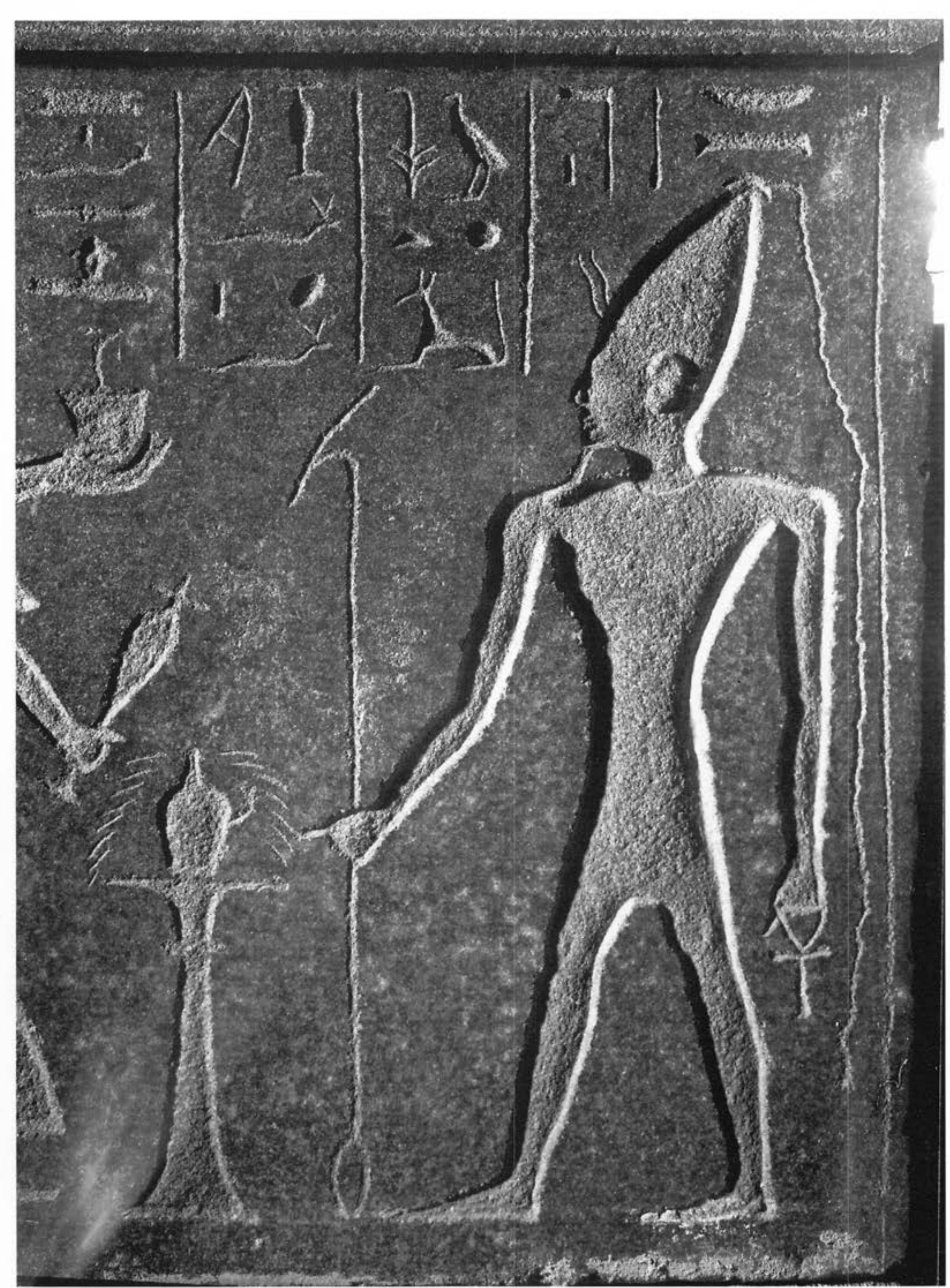
BR7



BR8



BR9



BR10



BR11



BR12

BR13



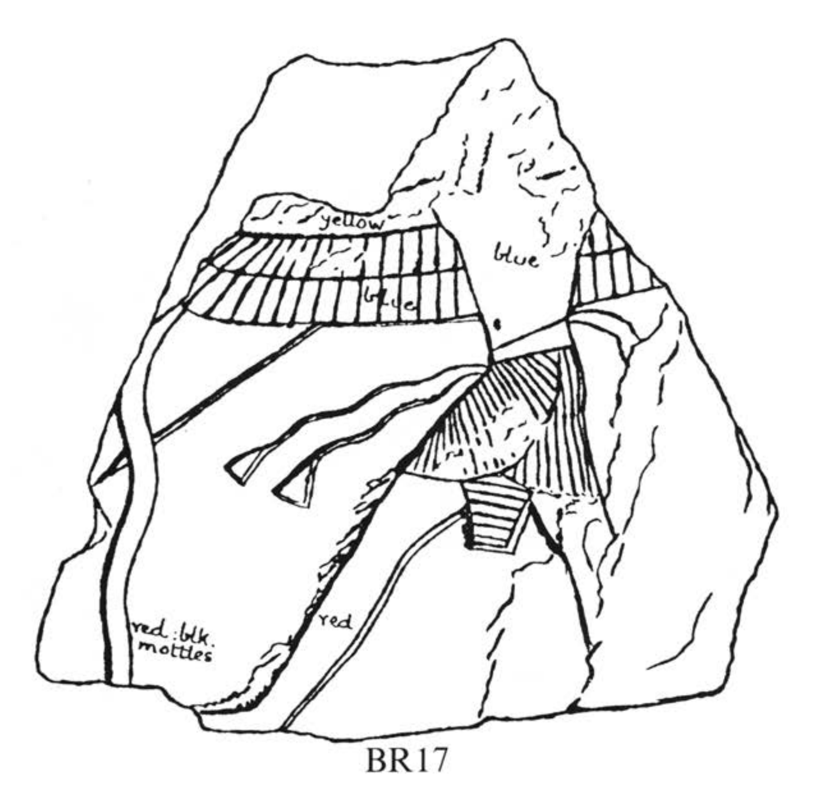
BR14



BR15



BR16

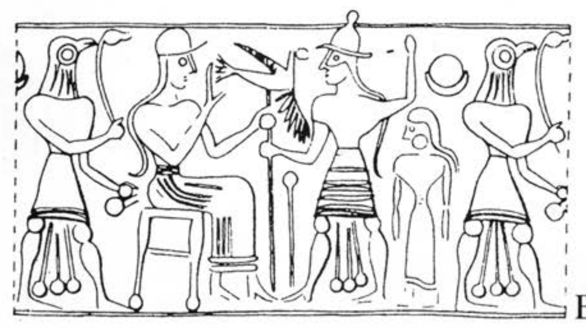


BR17



BR18

BR19


BM1


BM1a



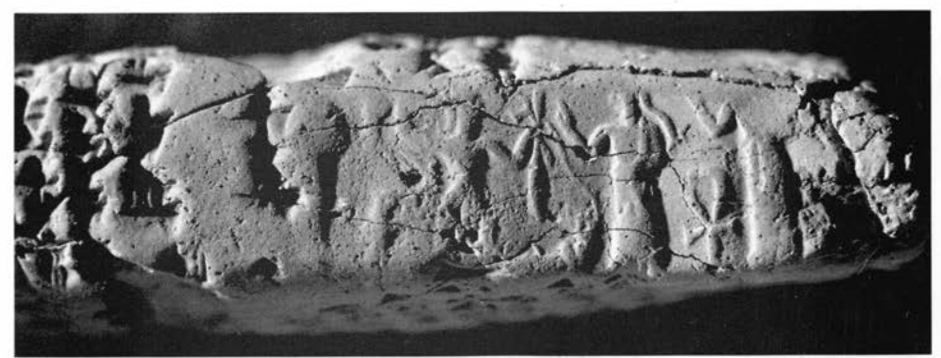
BM2



BM5

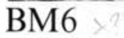


BM3



BM4





BM6



BM7

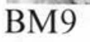


BM8



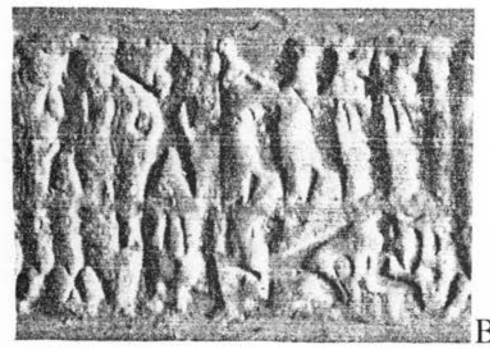
BM10



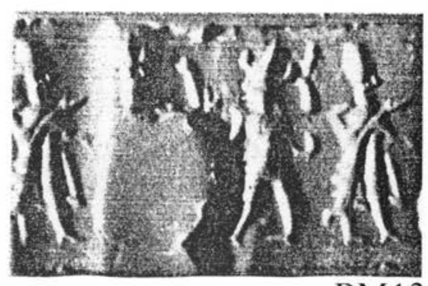


BM9

BM11



BM12



BM13




BM14



BM15



BM16



BM17



BM18



BM19



BM20



BM21



BM22




BM23



BM23a

BM24



BM25



BM26



BM27

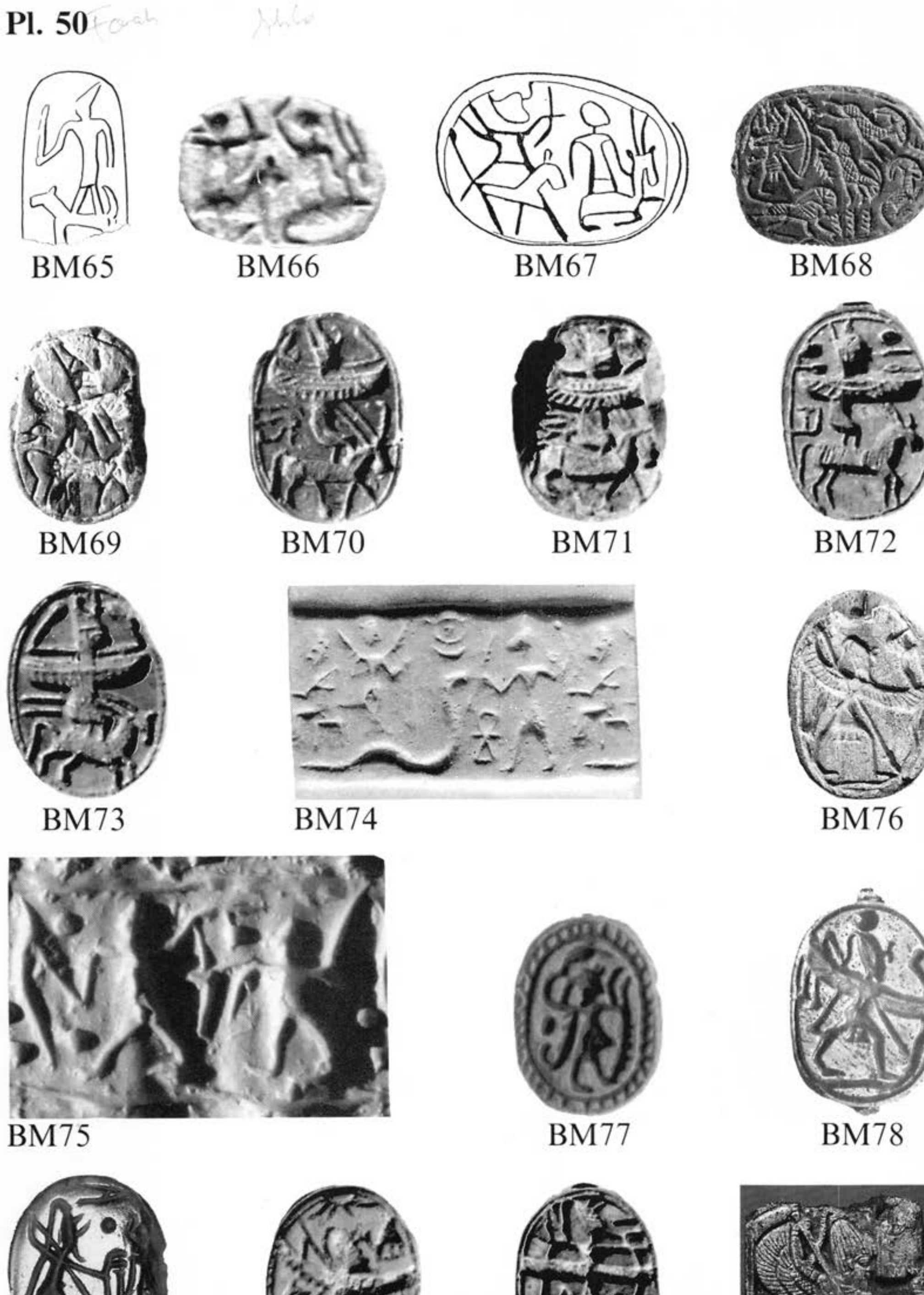
Pl. 48

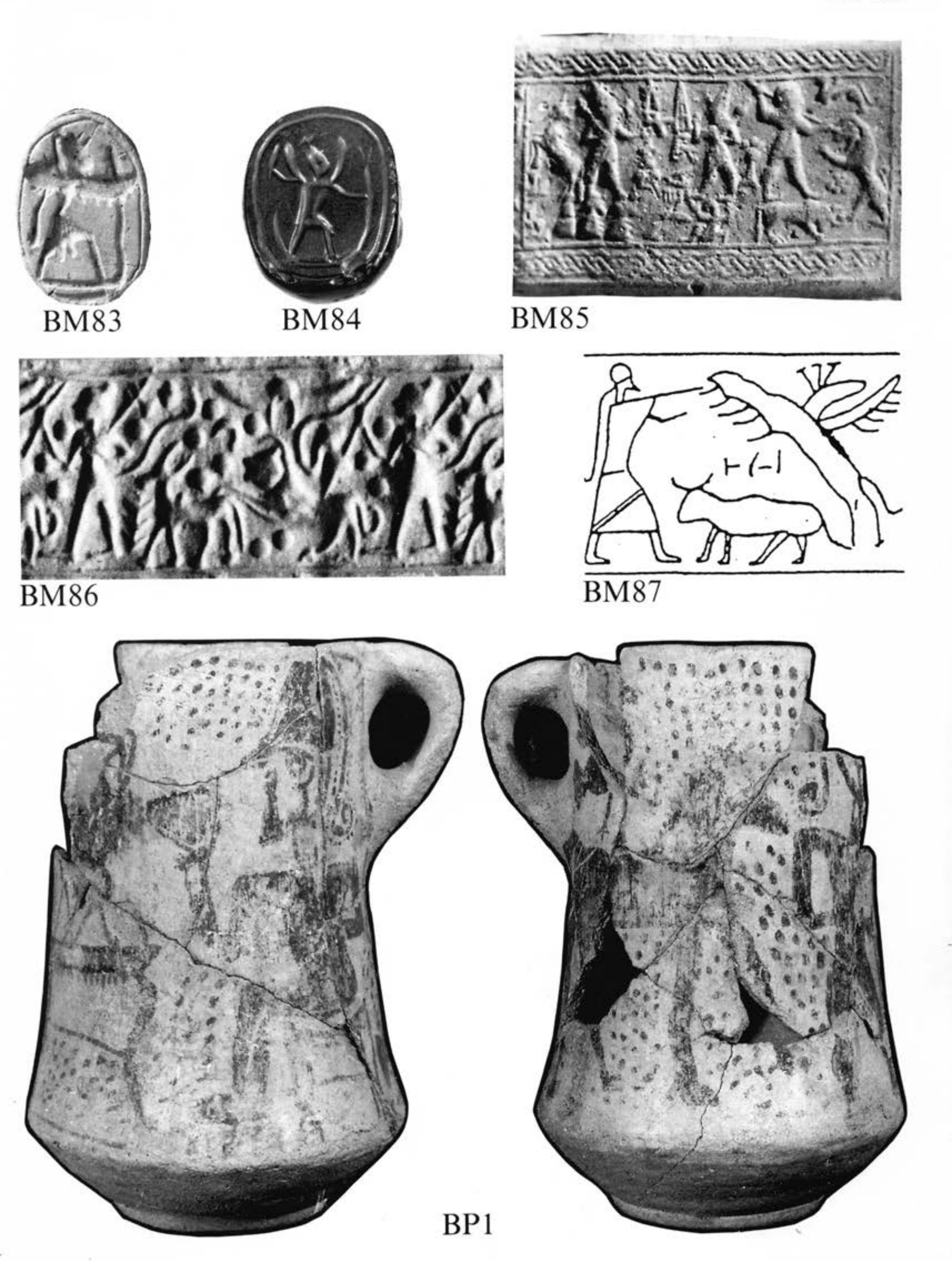

BM28
BM29
BM30
BM31
BM32
BM33
BM34
BM35
BM36
BM37
BM38
BM39
BM40
BM41
BM43
BM44
BM45
BM42

Pl. 49


BM46
BM47
BM48
BM49
BM50
BM51
BM52
BM53
BM54
BM55
BM56
BM57
BM58
BM59
BM60
BM61
BM62
BM63
BM64

Pl. 50


BM65
BM66
BM67
BM68
BM69
BM70
BM71
BM72
BM73
BM74
BM76
BM75
BM77
BM78
BM79
BM80
BM81
BM82



BM83 BM84 BM85

BM86 BM87

BP1



BS1a, b



BB1



BB2

ADDITIONAL PLATES





B

C



D

FIGURES

Text figures

Fig 1

Fig 2

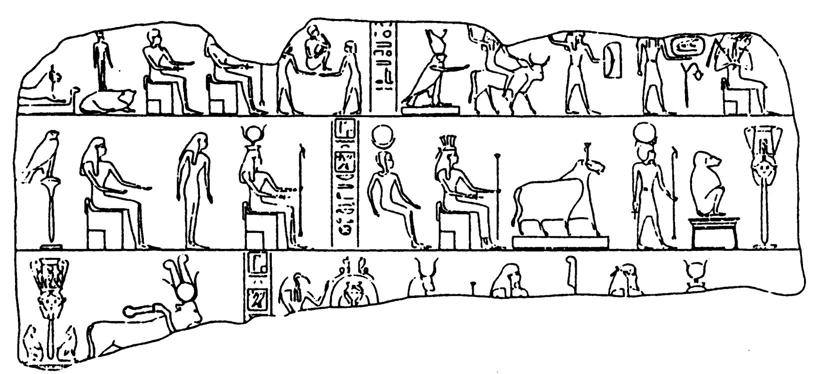


Fig 3

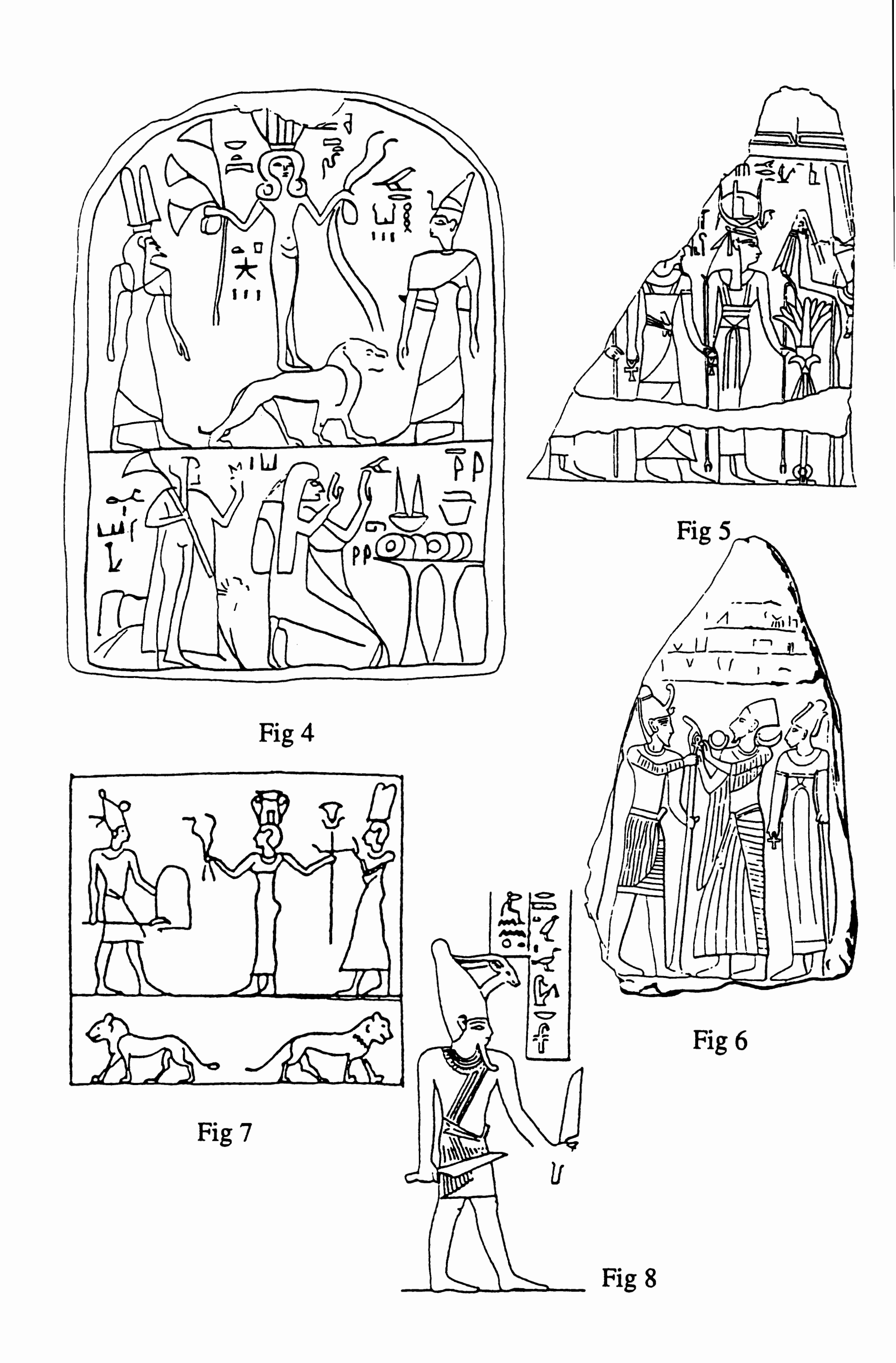


Fig 4

Fig 5

Fig 6

Fig 7

Fig 8

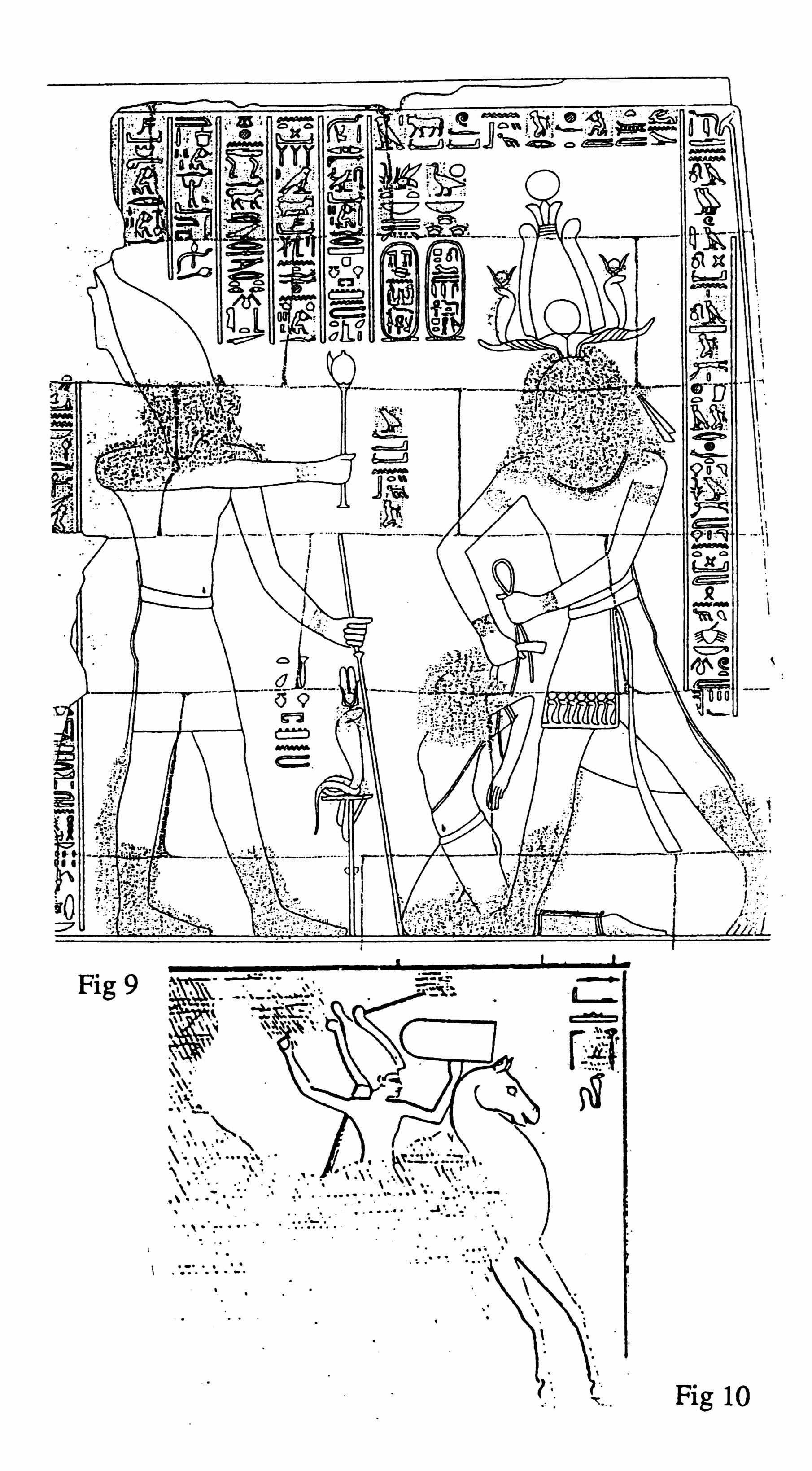


Fig 9

Fig 10

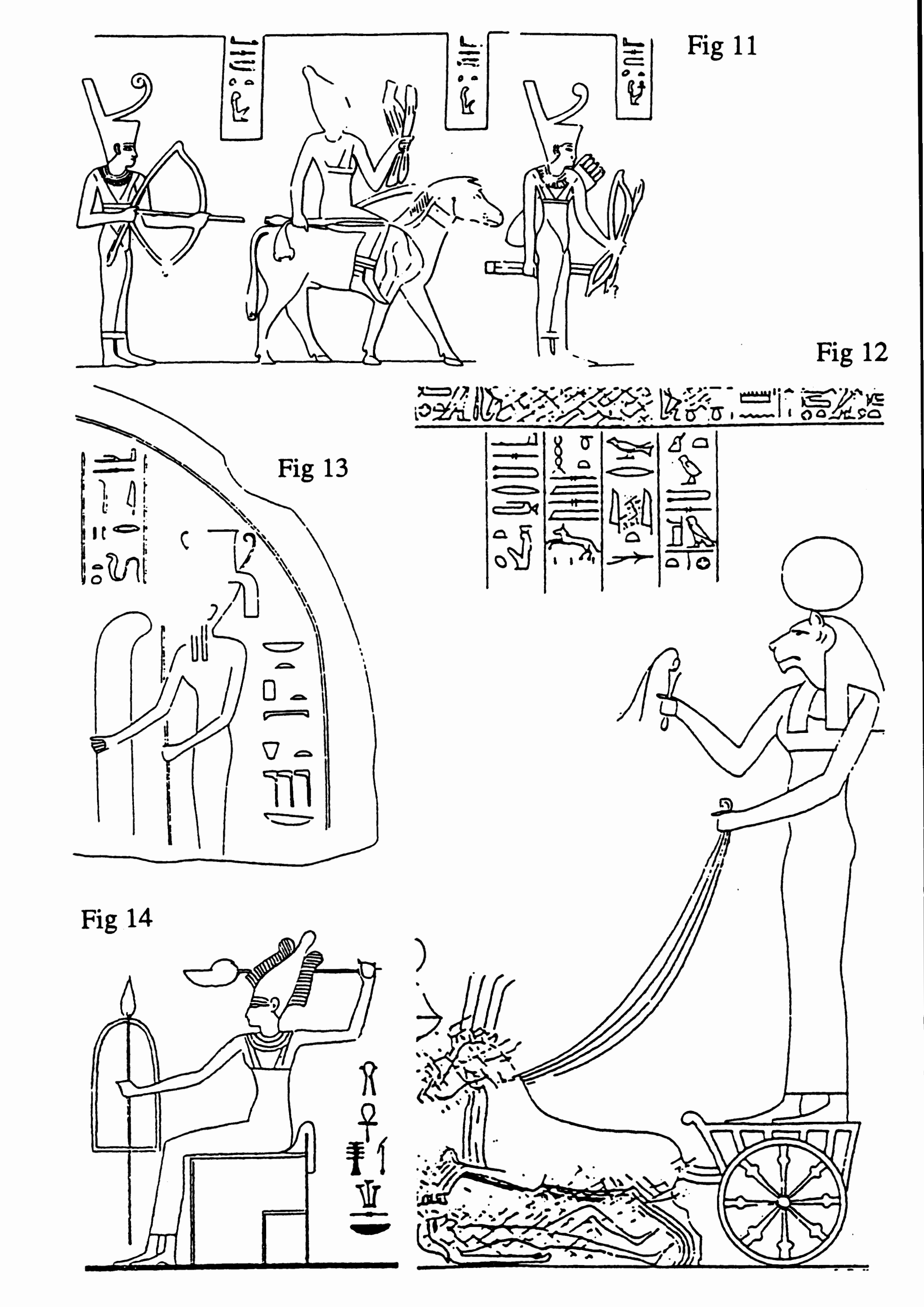
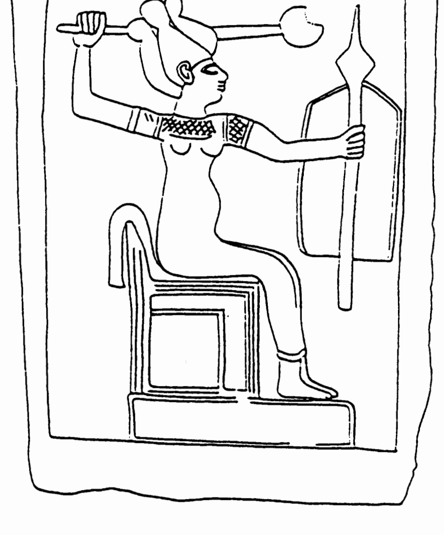

Fig 11
Fig 12
Fig 13
Fig 14



Fig 15



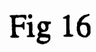


Fig 16

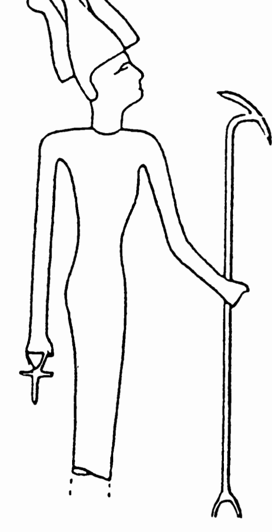


Fig 17



Fig 19

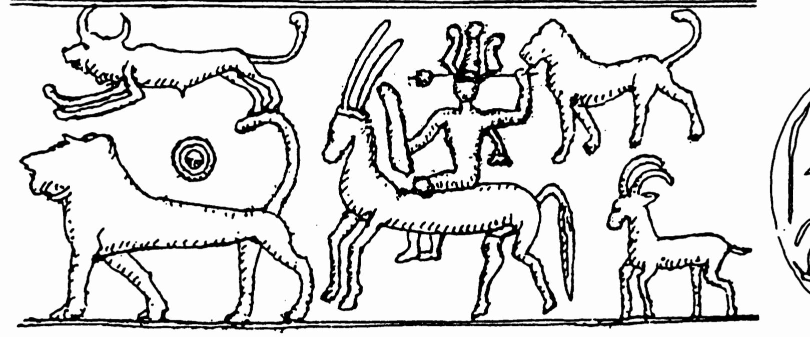


Fig 18



Fig 20

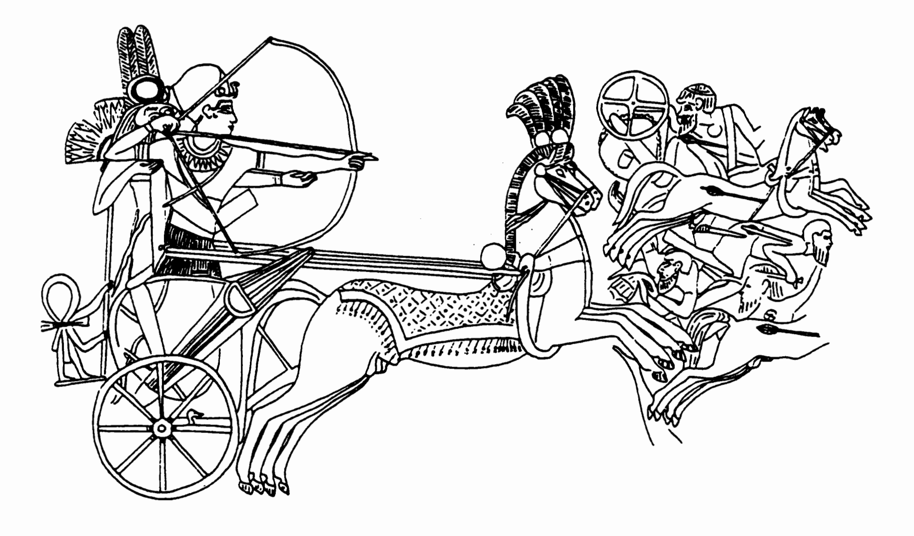


Fig 21

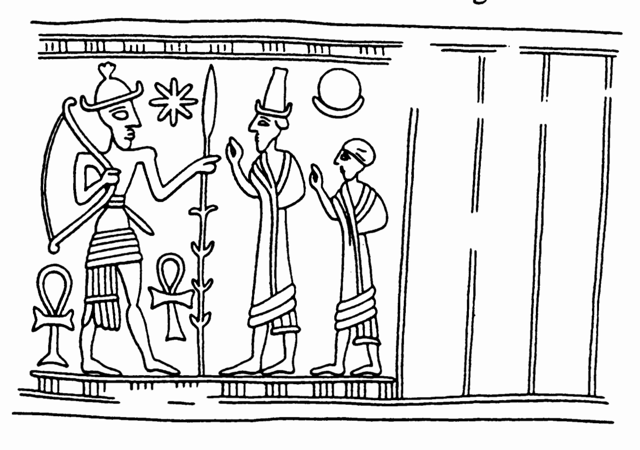


Fig 22

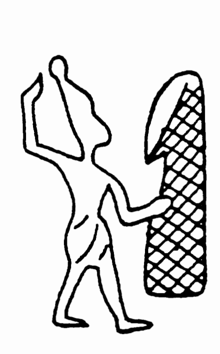


Fig 24



Fig 23

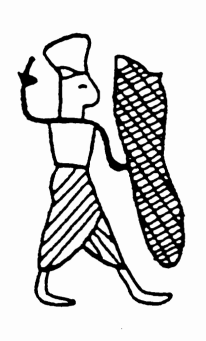


Fig 25

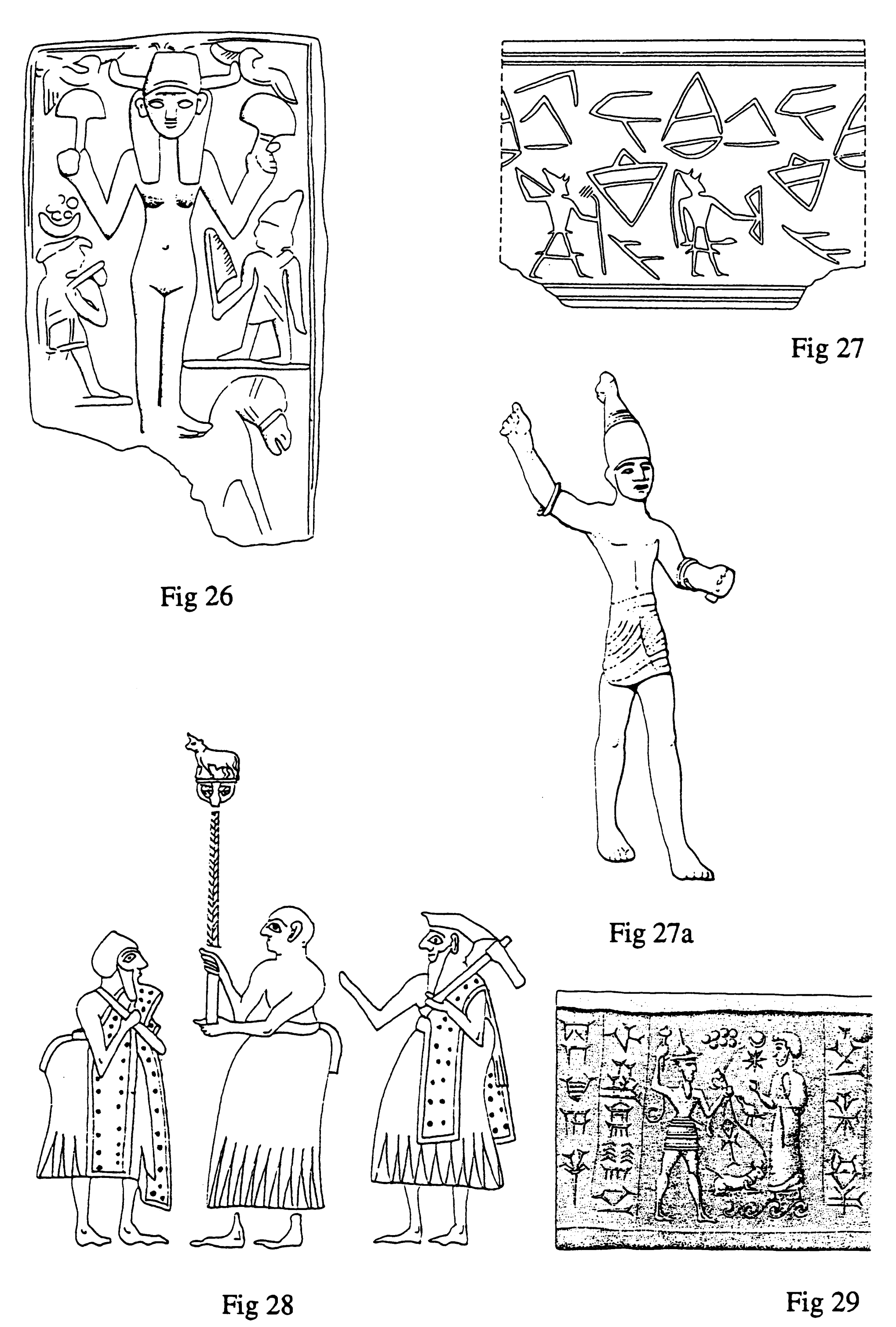


Fig 26

Fig 27

Fig 27a

Fig 28

Fig 29

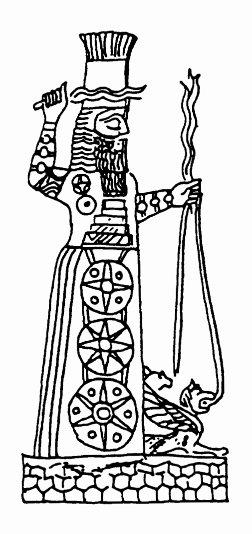


Fig 30



Fig 31



Fig 31a

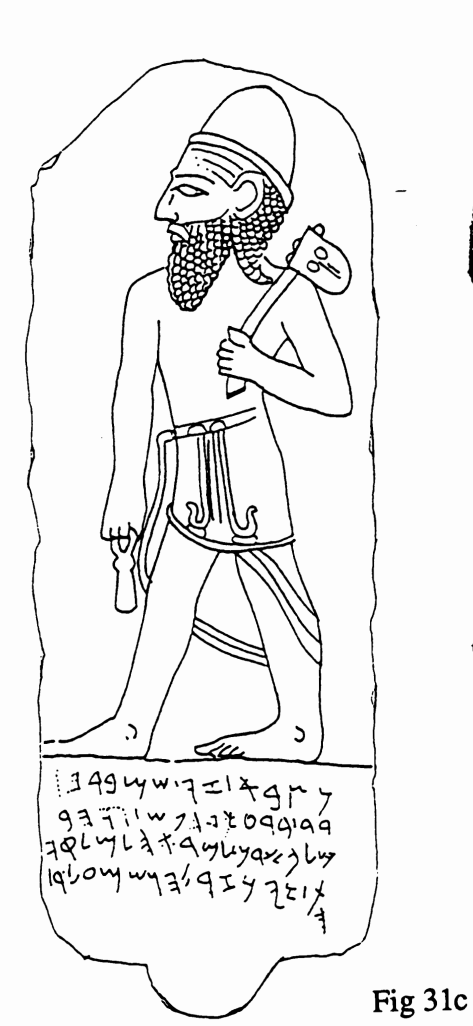


Fig 31c

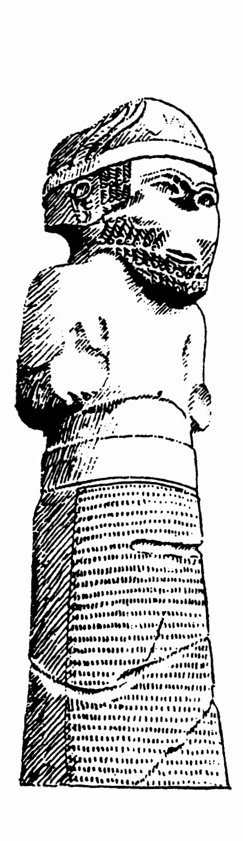


Fig 31d



Fig 31b

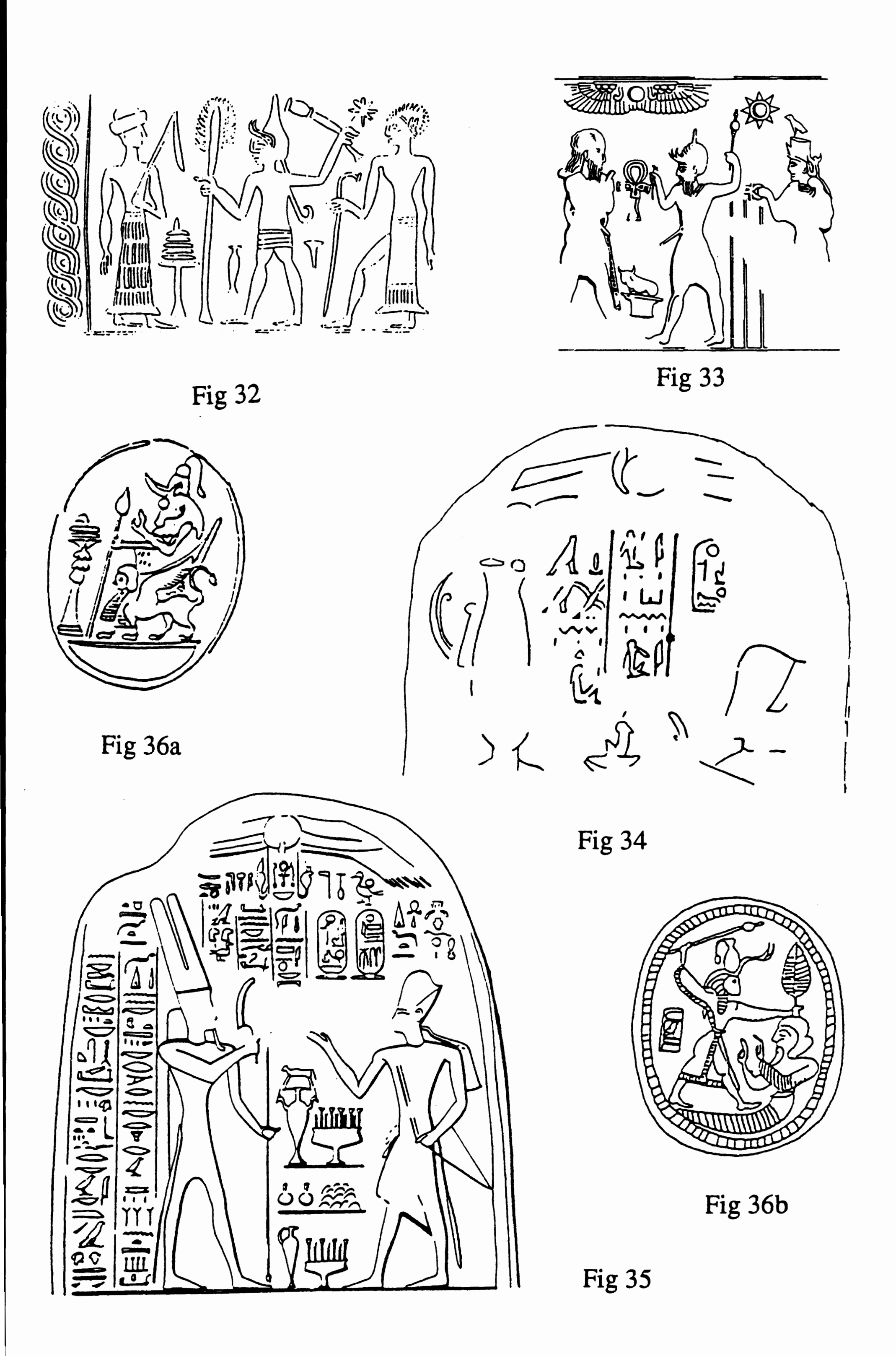


Fig 32

Fig 33

Fig 36a

Fig 34

Fig 36b

Fig 35

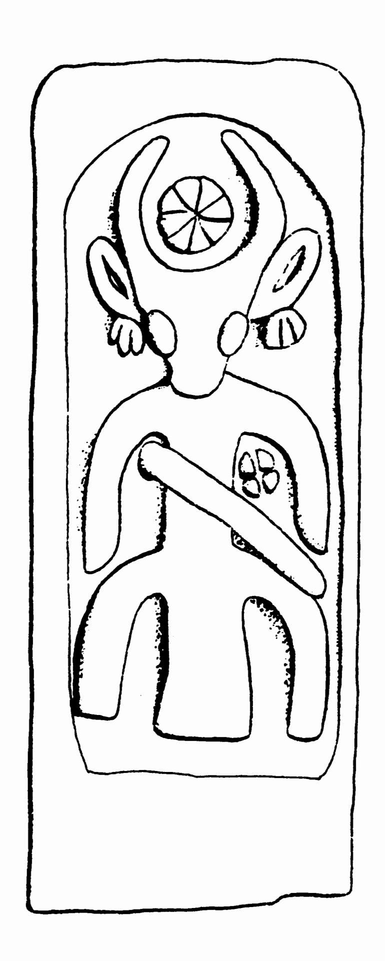


Fig 37



Fig 38

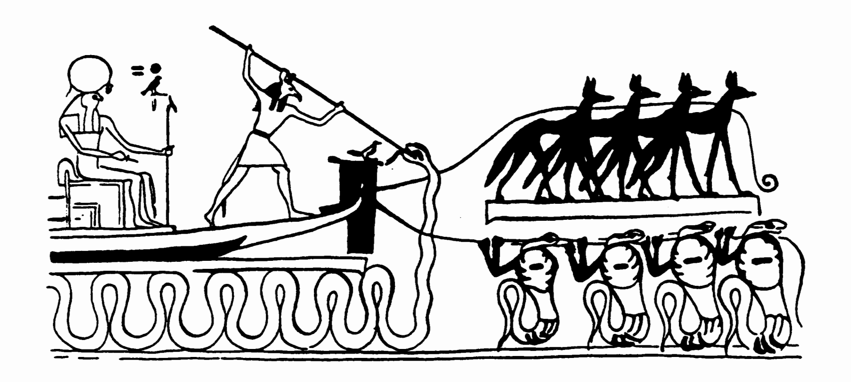


Fig 39


Fig 39a


Fig 40a


Fig 40


Fig 41

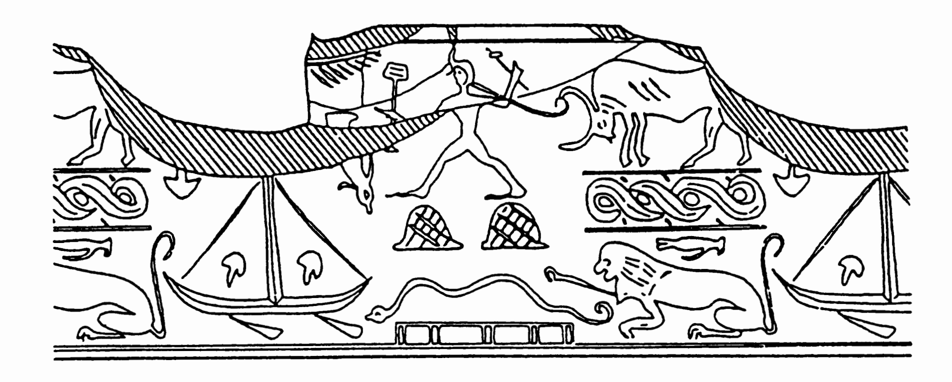


Fig 42

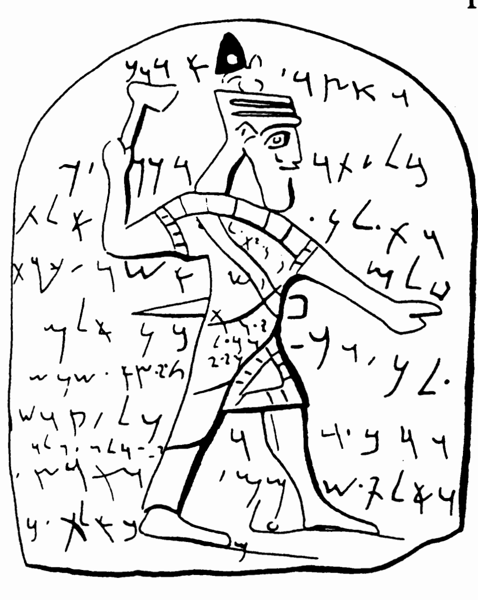


Fig 43

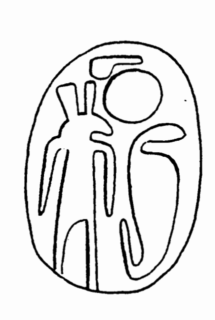


Fig 44a



Fig 44b

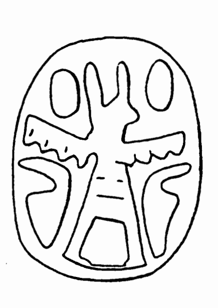


Fig 44c



Fig 45

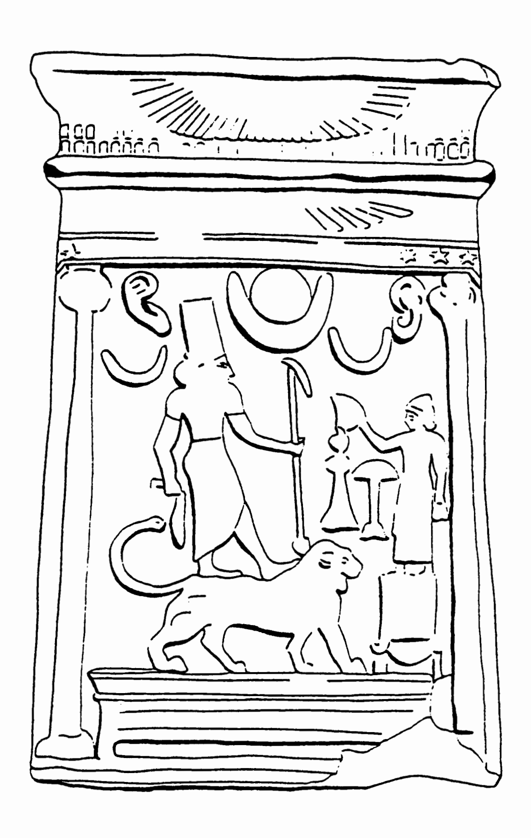


Fig 46



Fig 47



Fig 48

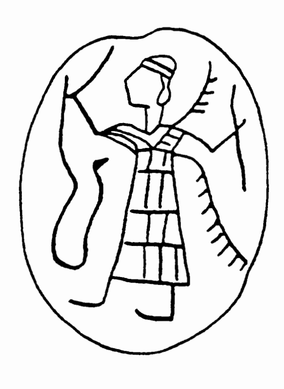


Fig 49

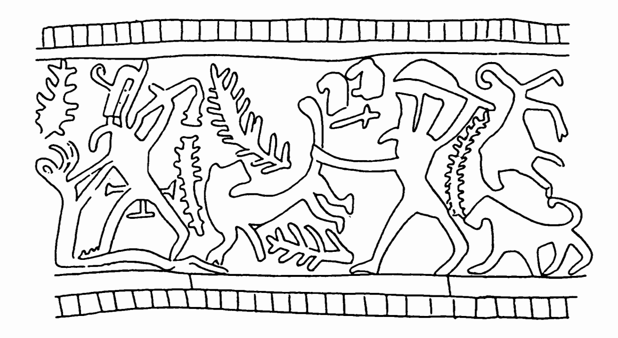


Fig 49a



Fig 50

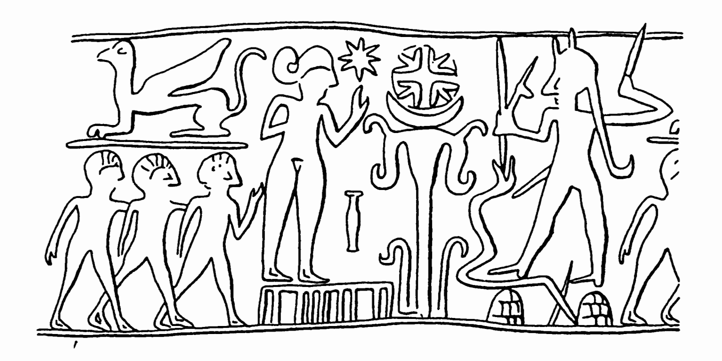


Fig 51

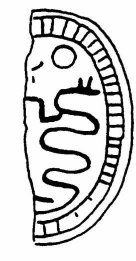


Fig 53

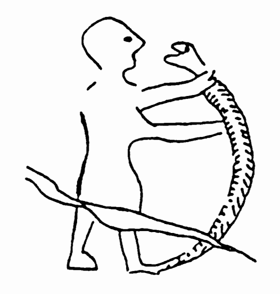
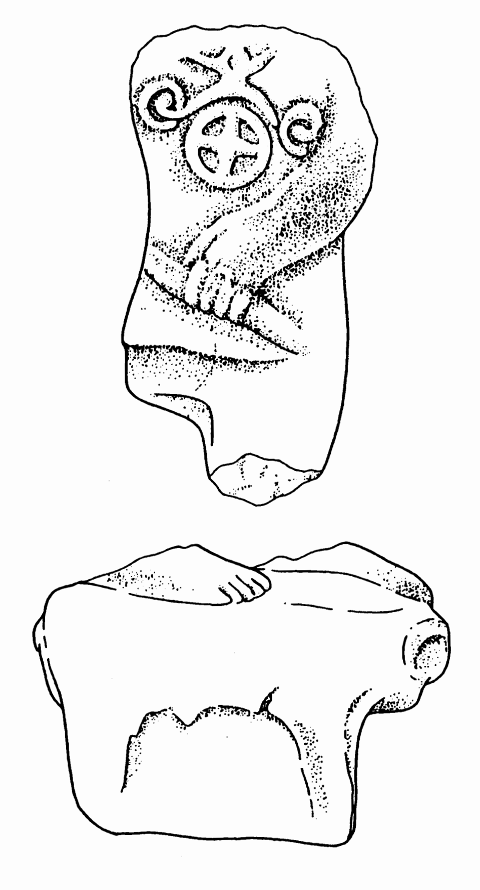


Fig 54

Fig 52



Fig 55



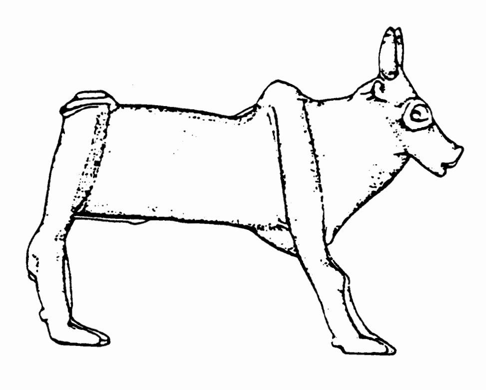


Fig 57

Fig 56

Fig 58

Fig 59

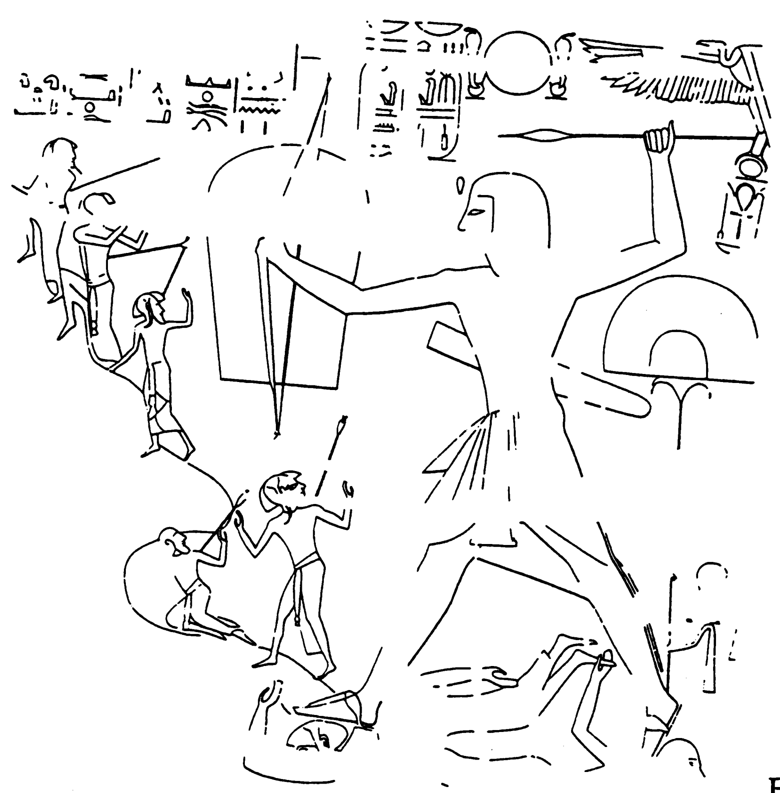


Fig 60

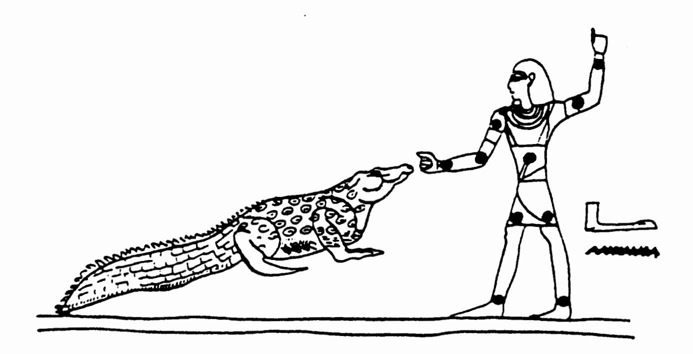


Fig 61

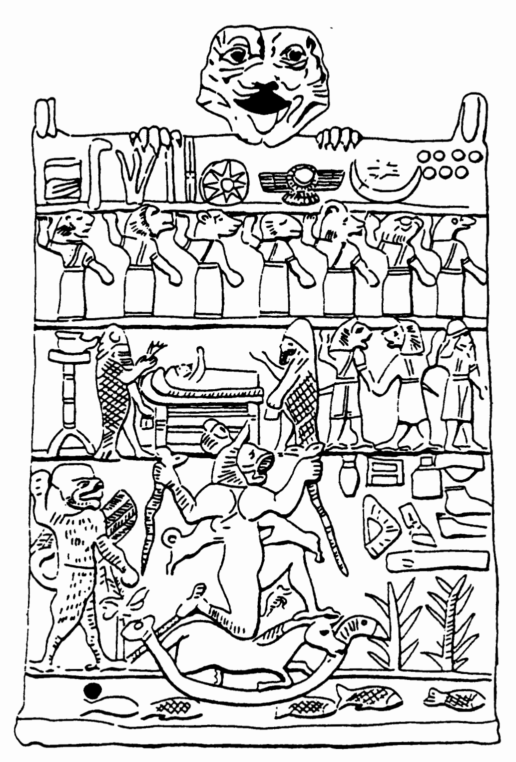
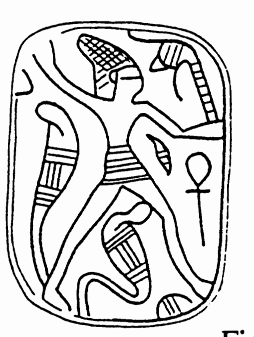


Fig 62



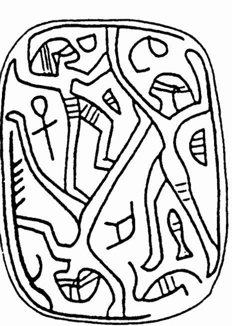


Fig 63

ORBIS BIBLICUS ET ORIENTALIS – Lieferbare Titel

Bd. 25/1a MICHAEL LATTKE: *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis.* Band Ia. Der syrische Text der Edition in Estrangela Faksimile des griechischen Papyrus Bodmer XI. 68 Seiten. 1980.

Bd. 25/2 MICHAEL LATTKE: *Die Oden Salomos in ihrer Bedeutung für Neues Testament und Gnosis.* Band II. Vollständige Wortkonkordanz zur handschriftlichen, griechischen, koptischen, lateinischen und syrischen Überlieferung der Oden Salomos. Mit einem Faksimile des Kodex N. XVI–201 Seiten. 1979.

Bd. 46 ERIK HORNUNG: *Der ägyptische Mythos von der Himmelskuh.* Eine Ätiologie des Unvollkommenen. Unter Mitarbeit von Andreas Brodbeck, Hermann Schlögl und Elisabeth Staehelin und mit einem Beitrag von Gerhard Fecht. XII–129 Seiten, 10 Abbildungen. 1991. 2. ergänzte Auflage.

Bd. 50/1 DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.* 1. Josué, Juges, Ruth, Samuel, Rois, Chroniques, Esdras, Néhémie, Esther. Rapport final du Comité pour l'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu institué par l'Alliance Biblique Universelle, établi en coopération avec Alexander R. Hulst †, Norbert Lohfink, William D. McHardy, H. Peter Rüger, coéditeur, James A. Sanders, coéditeur. 812 pages. 1982.

Bd. 50/2 DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.* 2. Isaïe, Jérémie, Lamentations. Rapport final du Comité pour l'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu institué par l'Alliance Biblique Universelle, établi en coopération avec Alexander R. Hulst †, Norbert Lohfink, William D. McHardy, H. Peter Rüger, coéditeur, James A. Sanders, coéditeur. 1112 pages. 1986.

Bd. 50/3 DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY: *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament.* Tome 3. Ezéchiel, Daniel et les 12 Prophètes. Rapport final du Comité pour l'analyse textuelle de l'Ancien Testament hébreu institué par l'Alliance Biblique Universelle, établi en coopération avec Alexander R. Hulst†, Norbert Lohfink, William D. McHardy, H. Peter Rüger†, coéditeur, James A. Sanders, coéditeur. 1424 pages. 1992.

Bd. 52 MIRIAM LICHTHEIM: *Late Egyptian Wisdom Literature in the International Context.* A Study of Demotic Instructions. X–240 Seiten. 1983.

Bd. 53 URS WINTER: *Frau und Göttin.* Exegetische und ikonographische Studien zum weiblichen Gottesbild im Alten Israel und in dessen Umwelt. XVIII–928 Seiten, 520 Abbildungen. 1987. 2. Auflage. Mit einem Nachwort zur 2. Auflage.

Bd. 54 PAUL MAIBERGER: *Topographische und historische Untersuchungen zum Sinaiproblem.* Worauf beruht die Identifizierung des Ǧabal Mūsā mit dem Sinai? 189 Seiten, 13 Tafeln. 1984.

Bd. 56 HANS-PETER MÜLLER: *Vergleich und Metapher im Hohenlied.* 59 Seiten. 1984.

Bd. 57 STEPHEN PISANO: *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel.* The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Massoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts. XIV–295 Seiten. 1984.

Bd. 58 ODO CAMPONOVO: *Königtum, Königsherrschaft und Reich Gottes in den Frühjüdischen Schriften.* XVI–492 Seiten. 1984.

Bd. 59 JAMES KARL HOFFMEIER: *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt.* The Term *D̲SR,* with Special Reference to Dynasties I–XX. XXIV–281 Seiten, 24 Figures. 1985.

Bd. 60 CHRISTIAN HERRMANN: *Formen für ägyptische Fayencen.* Katalog der Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz und einer Privatsammlung. XXVIII-199 Seiten. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text und 30 Tafeln. 1985.

Bd. 61 HELMUT ENGEL: *Die Susanna-Erzählung.* Einleitung, Übersetzung und Kommentar zum Septuaginta-Text und zur Theodition-Bearbeitung. 205 Seiten + Anhang 11 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 62 ERNST KUTSCH: *Die chronologischen Daten des Ezechielbuches.* 82 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 63 MANFRED HUTTER: *Altorientalische Vorstellungen von der Unterwelt.* Literar- und religionsgeschichtliche Überlegungen zu «Nergal und Ereškigal». VIII–187 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 64 HELGA WEIPPERT/KLAUS SEYBOLD/MANFRED WEIPPERT: *Beiträge zur prophetischen Bildsprache in Israel und Assyrien.* IX–93 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 65 ABDEL-AZIZ FAHMY SADEK: *Contribution à l'étude de l'Amdouat.* Les variantes tardives du Livre de l'Amdouat dans les papyrus du Musée du Caire. XVI–400 pages, 175 illustrations. 1985.

Bd. 66 HANS-PETER STÄHLI: *Solare Elemente im Jahweglauben des Alten Testamentes.* X–60 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 67 OTHMAR KEEL / SILVIA SCHROER: *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel.* Band I. 115 Seiten, 103 Abbildungen. 1985.

Bd. 68 WALTER BEYERLIN: *Weisheitliche Vergewisserung mit Bezug auf den Zionskult.* Studien zum 125. Psalm. 96 Seiten. 1985.

Bd. 69 RAPHAEL VENTURA: *Living in a City of the Dead.* A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis. XII–232 Seiten. 1986.

Bd. 70 CLEMENS LOCHER: *Die Ehre einer Frau in Israel.* Exegetische und rechtsvergleichende Studien zu Dtn 22, 13–21. XVIII–464 Seiten. 1986.

Bd. 71 HANS-PETER MATHYS: *Liebe deinen Nächsten wie dich selbst.* Untersuchungen zum alttestamentlichen Gebot der Nächstenliebe (Lev 19,18). XII–204 Seiten. 1990. 2. verbesserte Auflage.

Bd. 72 FRIEDRICH ABITZ: *Ramses III. in den Gräbern seiner Söhne.* 156 Seiten, 31 Abbildungen. 1986.

Bd. 73 DOMINIQUE BARTHÉLEMY/DAVID W. GOODING/JOHAN LUST/EMANUEL TOV: *The Story of David and Goliath.* 160 Seiten. 1986.

Bd. 74 SILVIA SCHROER: *In Israel gab es Bilder.* Nachrichten von darstellender Kunst im Alten Testament. XVI–553 Seiten, 146 Abbildungen. 1987.

Bd. 75 ALAN R. SCHULMAN: *Ceremonial Execution and Public Rewards.* Some Historical Scenes on New Kingdom Private Stelae. 296 Seiten, 41 Abbildungen. 1987.

Bd. 76 JOŽE KRAŠOVEC: *La justice (Ṣdq) de Dieu dans la Bible hébraïque et l'interprétation juive et chrétienne.* 456 pages. 1988.

Bd. 77 HELMUT UTZSCHNEIDER: *Das Heiligtum und das Gesetz.* Studien zur Bedeutung der sinaitischen Heiligtumstexte (Ez 25–40; Lev 8–9). XIV–326 Seiten. 1988.

Bd. 78 BERNARD GOSSE: *Isaie 13,1-14,23.* Dans la tradition littéraire du livre d'Isaïe et dans la tradition des oracles contre les nations. 308 pages. 1988.

Bd. 79 INKE W. SCHUMACHER: *Der Gott Sopdu - Der Herr der Fremdländer.* XVI–364 Seiten, 6 Abbildungen. 1988.

Bd. 80 HELLMUT BRUNNER: *Das hörende Herz.* Kleine Schriften zur Religions- und Geistesgeschichte Ägyptens. Herausgegeben von Wolfgang Röllig. 449 Seiten, 55 Abbildungen. 1988.

Bd. 81 WALTER BEYERLIN: *Bleilot, Brecheisen oder was sonst?* Revision einer Amos-Vision. 68 Seiten. 1988.

Bd. 82 MANFRED HUTTER: *Behexung, Entsühnung und Heilung.* Das Ritual der Tunnawiya für ein Königspaar aus mittelhethitischer Zeit (KBo XXI 1 – KUB IX 34 – KBo XXI 6). 186 Seiten. 1988.

Bd. 83 RAPHAEL GIVEON: *Scarabs from Recent Excavations in Israel.* 114 Seiten. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text und 9 Tafeln. 1988.

Bd. 84 MIRIAM LICHTHEIM: *Ancient Egyptian Autobiographies chiefly of the Middle Kingdom.* A Study and an Anthology. 200 Seiten, 10 Seiten Abbildungen. 1988.

Bd. 85 ECKART OTTO: *Rechtsgeschichte der Redaktionen im Kodex Ešnunna und im «Bundesbuch».* Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche und rechtsvergleichende Studie zu altbabylonischen und altisraelitischen Rechtsüberlieferungen. 220 Seiten. 1989.

Bd. 86 ANDRZEJ NIWIŃSKI: *Studies on the Illustrated Theban Funerary Papyri of the 11th and 10th Centuries B.C.* 488 Seiten, 80 Seiten Tafeln. 1989.

Bd. 87 URSULA SEIDL: *Die babylonischen Kudurru-Reliefs.* Symbole mesopotamischer Gottheiten. 236 Seiten, 33 Tafeln und 2 Tabellen. 1989.

Bd. 88 OTHMAR KEEL/HILDI KEEL-LEU/SILVIA SCHROER: *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel.* Band II. 364 Seiten, 652 Abbildungen. 1989.

Bd. 89 FRIEDRICH ABITZ: *Baugeschichte und Dekoration des Grabes Ramses' VI.* 202 Seiten, 39 Abbildungen. 1989.

Bd. 90 JOSEPH HENNINGER SVD: *Arabica varia.* Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Arabiens und seiner Randgebiete. Contributions à l'histoire culturelle de l'Arabie et de ses régions limitrophes. 504 Seiten. 1989.

Bd. 91 GEORG FISCHER: *Jahwe unser Gott.* Sprache, Aufbau und Erzähltechnik in der Berufung des Mose (Ex. 3–4). 276 Seiten. 1989.

Bd. 92 MARK A. O'BRIEN: *The Deuteronomistic History Hypothesis:* A Reassessment. 340 Seiten. 1989.

Bd. 93 WALTER BEYERLIN: *Reflexe der Amosvisionen im Jeremiabuch.* 120 Seiten. 1989.

Bd. 94 ENZO CORTESE: *Josua 13–21.* Ein priesterschriftlicher Abschnitt im deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk. 136 Seiten. 1990.

Bd. 96 ANDRÉ WIESE: *Zum Bild des Königs auf ägyptischen Siegelamuletten.* 264 Seiten. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text und 32 Tafeln. 1990.

Bd. 97 WOLFGANG ZWICKEL: *Räucherkult und Räuchergeräte.* Exegetische und archäologische Studien zum Räucheropfer im Alten Testament. 372 Seiten. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text. 1990.

Bd. 98 AARON SCHART: *Mose und Israel im Konflikt.* Eine redaktionsgeschichtliche Studie zu den Wüstenerzählungen. 296 Seiten. 1990.

Bd. 99 THOMAS RÖMER: *Israels Väter.* Untersuchungen zur Väterthematik im Deuteronomium und in der deuteronomistischen Tradition. 664 Seiten. 1990.

Bd. 100 OTHMAR KEEL/MENAKHEM SHUVAL/CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER: *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel.* Band III. Die Frühe Eisenzeit. Ein Workshop. XIV–456 Seiten. Mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text und 22 Tafeln. 1990.

Bd. 101 CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER: *Weltreich und «eine Rede».* Eine neue Deutung der sogenannten Turmbauerzählung (Gen 11,1–9). XVI–654 Seiten. 1990.

Bd. 102 BENJAMIN SASS: *Studia Alphabetica.* On the Origin and Early History of the Northwest Semitic, South Semitic and Greek Alphabets. X–120 Seiten. 16 Seiten Abbildungen. 2 Tabellen. 1991.

Bd. 103 ADRIAN SCHENKER: *Text und Sinn im Alten Testament.* Textgeschichtliche und bibeltheologische Studien. VIII–312 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 104 DANIEL BODI: *The Book of Ezekiel and the Poem of Erra.* IV–332 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 105 YUICHI OSUMI: *Die Kompositionsgeschichte des Bundesbuches Exodus 20,22b–23,33.* XII–284 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 106 RUDOLF WERNER: *Kleine Einführung ins Hieroglyphen-Luwische.* XII–112 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 107 THOMAS STAUBLI: *Das Image der Nomaden im Alten Israel und in der Ikonographie seiner sesshaften Nachbarn.* XII–408 Seiten. 145 Abb. und 3 Falttafeln. 1991.

Bd. 108 MOSHÉ ANBAR: *Les tribus amurrites de Mari.* VIII–256 pages. 1991.

Bd. 109 GÉRARD J. NORTON/STEPHEN PISANO (eds.): *Tradition of the Text.* Studies offered to Dominique Barthélemy in Celebration of his 70th Birthday. 336 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 110 HILDI KEEL-LEU: *Vorderasiatische Stempelsiegel.* Die Sammlung des Biblischen Instituts der Universität Freiburg Schweiz. 180 Seiten. 24 Tafeln. 1991.

Bd. 111 NORBERT LOHFINK: *Die Väter Israels im Deuteronomium.* Mit einer Stellungnahme von Thomas Römer. 152 Seiten. 1991.

Bd. 112 EDMUND HERMSEN: *Die zwei Wege des Jenseits.* Das altägyptische Zweiwegebuch und seine Topographie. XII–282 Seiten, 1 mehrfarbige und 19 Schwarz-weiss-Abbildungen. 1992.

Bd. 113 CHARLES MAYSTRE: *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis.* XIV–474 pages, 2 planches. 1992.

Bd. 114 THOMAS SCHNEIDER: *Asiatische Personennamen in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches.* 480 Seiten. 1992.

Bd. 115 ECKHARD VON NORDHEIM: *Die Selbstbehauptung Israels in der Welt des Alten Orients.* Religionsgeschichtlicher Vergleich anhand von Gen 15/22/28, dem Aufenthalt Israels in Ägypten, 2 Sam 7, 1 Kön 19 und Psalm 104. 240 Seiten. 1992.

Bd. 116 DONALD M. MATTHEWS: *The Kassite Glyptic of Nippur.* 208 Seiten. 210 Abbildungen. 1992.

Bd. 117 FIONA V. RICHARDS: *Scarab Seals from a Middle to Late Bronze Age Tomb at Pella in Jordan.* XII–152 Seiten, 16 Tafeln. 1992.

Bd. 118 YOHANAN GOLDMAN: *Prophétie et royauté au retour de l'exil. Les origines littéraires de la forme massorétique du livre de Jérémie.* XIV–270 pages. 1992.

Bd. 119 THOMAS M. KRAPF: *Die Priesterschrift und die vorexilische Zeit. Yehezkel Kaufmanns vernachlässigter Beitrag zur Geschichte der biblischen Religion.* XX-364 Seiten. 1992.

Bd. 120 MIRIAM LICHTHEIM: *Maat in Egyptian Autobiographies and Related Studies.* 236 Seiten, 8 Tafeln. 1992.

Bd. 121 ULRICH HÜBNER: *Spiele und Spielzeug im antiken Palästina.* 256 Seiten. 58 Abbildungen. 1992.

Bd. 122 OTHMAR KEEL: *Das Recht der Bilder, gesehen zu werden. Drei Fallstudien zur Methode der Interpretation altorientalischer Bilder.* 332 Seiten, 286 Abbildungen. 1992.

Bd. 123 WOLFGANG ZWICKEL (Hrsg.): *Biblische Welten. Festschrift für Martin Metzger zu seinem 65. Geburtstag.* 268 Seiten, 19 Abbildungen. 1993.

Bd. 125 BENJAMIN SASS/CHRISTOPH UEHLINGER (eds.): *Studies in the Iconography of Northwest Semitic Inscribed Seals. Proceedings of a symposium held in Fribourg on April 17-20, 1991.* 368 pages, 532 illustrations. 1993.

Bd. 126 RÜDIGER BARTELMUS/THOMAS KRÜGER/HELMUT UTZSCHNEIDER (Hrsg.): *Konsequente Traditionsgeschichte. Festschrift für Klaus Baltzer zum 65. Geburtstag.* 418 Seiten. 1993.

Bd. 127 ASKOLD I. IVANTCHIK: *Les Cimmériens au Proche-Orient.* 336 pages. 1993.

Bd. 128 JENS VOß: *Die Menora. Gestalt und Funktion des Leuchters im Tempel zu Jerusalem.* 124 Seiten. 1993.

Bd. 129 BERND JANOWSKI/KLAUS KOCH/GERNOT WILHELM (Hrsg.): *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament. Internationales Symposion Hamburg 17.-21. März 1990.* 572 Seiten. 1993.

Bd. 130 NILI SHUPAK: *Where can Wisdom be found?* The Sage's Language in the Bible and in Ancient Egyptian Literature. XXXII–516 pages. 1993.

Bd. 131 WALTER BURKERT/FRITZ STOLZ (Hrsg.): *Hymnen der Alten Welt im Kulturvergleich.* 134 Seiten. 1994.

Bd. 132 HANS-PETER MATHYS: *Dichter und Beter. Theologen aus spätalttestamentlicher Zeit.* 392 Seiten. 1994.

Bd. 133 REINHARD G. LEHMANN: *Friedrich Delitzsch und der Babel-Bibel-Streit.* 472 Seiten, 13 Tafeln. 1994.

Bd. 134 SUSANNE BICKEL: *La cosmogonie égyptienne avant le Nouvel Empire.* 360 pages. 1994.

Bd. 135 OTHMAR KEEL: *Studien zu den Stempelsiegeln aus Palästina/Israel.* Band IV. Mit Registern zu den Bänden I–IV. XII–340 Seiten mit Abbildungen, 24 Seiten Tafeln. 1994.

Bd. 136 HERMANN-JOSEF STIPP: *Das masoretische und das alexandrinische Sondergut des Jeremiabuches.* Textgeschichtlicher Rang, Eigenarten, Triebkräfte. VII–196 Seiten. 1994.

Bd. 137 PETER ESCHWEILER: *Bildzauber im alten Ägypten.* Die Verwendung von Bildern und Gegenständen in magischen Handlungen nach den Texten des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches. X–380 Seiten, 28 Seiten Tafeln. 1994.

Bd. 138 CHRISTIAN HERRMANN: *Ägyptische Amulette aus Palästina/Israel.* Mit einem Ausblick auf ihre Rezeption durch das Alte Testament. XXIV–1000 Seiten, 70 Seiten Bildtafeln. 1994.

Bd. 139 WALTER DIETRICH/MARTIN A. KLOPFENSTEIN (Hrsg.): *Ein Gott allein?* JHWH-Verehrung und biblischer Monotheismus im Kontext der israelitischen und altorientalischen Religionsgeschichte. 616 Seiten. 1994.

Bd. 140 IZAK CORNELIUS: The Iconography of the Canaanite Gods Reshef and Ba^{c}al. Late Bronze and Iron Age I Periods (c 1500 – 1000 BCE). XII–326 pages with illustrations, 56 plates. 1994.

Sonderband PASCAL ATTINGER: *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne. La construction de* du_{11}*/e/di «dire».* 816 pages. 1993.

UNIVERSITÄTSVERLAG FREIBURG SCHWEIZ

Summary

Although the Canaanite deities Reshef and Baʿal are both represented as so-called «smiting gods», their iconography is much more complicated and varied. This publication presents a catalogue of representations of Reshef and Baʿal in the Late Bronze and Iron Age I periods (c 1500 – 1000 BC). It deals with different motifs: «the menacing god», «the standing god», «deities on animals» and «the monster slayer».
Photographs of the originals are included, a full catalogue description is given and the iconographic attributes are compared and discussed. It is concluded that the iconography of the deities under discussion can be distinguished according to their different attributes and functions. It is established that Reshef carries a shield and is the protector of individuals' life, while Baʿal holds a plant and, as the bearer of life, has royal and cosmic connections.